

How to Be an Emperor:

T'ang T'ai-tsung's Vision of His Role

INTRODUCTION: THE EMPEROR DURING THE T'ANG

Like all Chinese rulers, the T'ang emperor was in theory a complete autocrat, a sovereign with unlimited powers. Whatever practical restrictions were placed on his freedom of action by political and institutional circumstances, whatever the limits imposed on his engagement in active interventionist policies by the very small bureaucratic establishment through which he ruled his empire of well over fifty million people, he remained the ultimate source of authority in a highly centralized and uniform system of government. He was the supreme legislator; all codified law and all edicts incorporating new legislation were promulgated in his name. All important administrative policy decisions were made and all political business was conducted at the court over which he himself presided, and his concurrence was essential in every major executive decision. All appointments to the highest offices were made by him, or at least in his name. When occasion demanded he was the supreme head of the judiciary, and his approval was required before the execution of all capital sentences. He was in charge of foreign relations, dispatching envoys to foreign states and receiving visits from their embassies. He was also the supreme military commander, and in the early years of the dynasty occasionally led his armies into battle in person. He was the religious figurehead of the state, undertaking an arduous and never-ending round of state ceremonial and religious observances to ensure that he himself and his dynasty retained the approval of the supernatural powers, and kept the Mandate of Heaven, the moral seal of divine approval that alone endowed it with legitimacy. He presided over the state's relationships with the two great organized religions within his empire, Buddhism and Taoism. He was also the representative of the culture, "*wen* 文," that defined the intellectual integrity of the T'ang polity and of its ruling elite. He exercised widespread literary patronage, maintained a large "scholarly" establishment of schools and scholarly officials, presided over court debates such as those pitting the chosen representatives of the "Three Faiths" against one another, ordered the produc-

tion and promulgation of "orthodox" texts and commentaries on the canonical literature, and adjudicated requests from foreign countries for access for their subjects to the great state schools at the capital, or for copies of canonical texts for education in their homelands.

The duties and responsibilities of every official post in the T'ang state system were defined in the administrative statutes (*ling* 令), and in the digest of laws titled *Ta T'ang liu-tien* 大唐六典. Yet the authority and functions of the emperor, in whose name and under whose direction the administration was conducted, are nowhere carefully described nor closely defined, although there were, of course, unwritten common assumptions about these matters and immemorial precedents governing the exercise of imperial power; and about those acts that would negate or imperil the legitimacy both of the dynasty itself and of the individual ruler. He was beyond the controls of the law and established institutions. The emperor was left to define his own role and establish his own individual style of governance.

An emperor's ultimate authority, however, derived neither from his own personal qualities nor from his achievements in either civil or military affairs. It was considered to be derived by Heaven's decree: "the determinative appointment of Heaven rests on his person," in the hallowed phraseology of the *Book of Documents*. His power and authority were thus to be jealously guarded, not shared even with his most powerful ministers. Authority was supposed to issue from a single source – the emperor. He alone was held responsible for handling the levers of power. Allowing great ministers to assume powers and responsibilities that were properly his could be condemned as a dereliction of duty on his part. Just which powers might properly be delegated in given circumstances might be debatable, but the sense that the ruler must retain his unquestioned overriding authority was all-pervasive.

The exercise of this awesome power was supposed to be conducted within the correct principles of government – themselves a product of centuries of consensus. He was expected to rule with humanity, observing ritual and filial obligations. He was to be reverent to his own position and its fearful responsibilities, to exercise virtue and righteousness. To ensure this meant that he should be ever on his guard, "like a man standing at the edge of a precipice, or a driver trying to control his team with rotten reins." There was of course in the background the implication that if his conduct was unacceptable to Heaven, his mandate to rule, and implicitly that of his dynasty, might be forfeit. But nowhere was it stated that the powers of the emperor were subject to any specific limits, or that his powers of arbitrary decision were formally defined or restricted. That they were very rarely taken to excess was not due to any

"constitutional" restrictions on his freedom of action, but to the generally accepted ideas about what constituted appropriate conduct. Moreover, in practice his effective authority was limited by the fact that he was utterly dependent at every turn upon the administrative organs of the state that had to put his orders into effect. This situation led naturally to a preference for ruling through agreed consensus with his bureaucratic apparatus wherever possible. In a confrontation with his ministers, although the emperor held the ultimate authority, the bureaucrats held the best cards; they had better information, the power of drafting the necessary edicts, and complete control over the machinery of government that would put it into practise.

Redefining the Imperial Ideal

Somewhat surprisingly, no thorough analysis of the theory of kingship and the nature of imperial authority during the T'ang has yet been written. Anything going beyond a superficial sketch must await both a far more detailed analysis of the political history of the entire period – for these things did not remain constant – and a deeper understanding of court procedure and ritual. I have no intention of getting into this very broad problem here. Nevertheless, we have a good deal of contemporary evidence about the ideal model of an emperor that was shared by both T'ang statesmen and the earlier T'ang rulers themselves. T'ai-tsung 太宗 (see appended list of reigns and dates), Kao-tsung 高宗, and the empress Wu 武則天 all left writings on the problems of rulership, four examples of which survive. Two of these, written by T'ai-tsung, one at the beginning and the other at the end of his reign, survive and form the subject of this study. A fragment of another extensive work, written in the 650s and promulgated in the name of Kao-tsung, has been tentatively identified among the Tun-huang manuscripts.¹ And the *Ch'en kuei* 臣軌 (discussed below), one of several works composed by empress Wu, or more probably written in her name by one of her court scholars, has survived in Japan.

There was a rather clear and consistent consensus regarding the model

¹ See *Fonds Pelliot chinois*, P. 5523. This was tentatively identified by Wang Chung-min 王重民 as a fragment of Kao-tsung's "T'ien hsün 天訓," "Heavenly instructions"; *Tun-huang ku-chi hsü-lu* 敦煌古籍錄 (Peking: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1958), pp. 188–89. It is an untitled scroll of 187 lines, torn into two fragments; it contains parts of *p'ien* 20 of which the title is missing but which lists the misdeeds of former empresses; *p'ien* 21 entitled "Chen-cheng 貞正" ("pure correctness"); *p'ien* 22 entitled "ch'ing-shen 清慎" ("pure caution"); and the beginning of *p'ien* 23 entitled "cheng kan 徵感" ("seeking out people's responses"). Wang's identification of this manuscript, P. 5523, is not entirely certain, but is convincing enough. Originally Kao-tsung's text was in two parts: "Yüan-shou ch'ien-hsing wei-ch'eng ku-kung chieh 元首前聖維城股肱箴" and "Ku-kung lun 股肱論." In 657 a commentary was written by the emperor's favorite scholar Hsü Ching-tsung 許敬宗; and the two parts were circulated as "T'ien hsün."

for an ideal ruler that was shared by historians, political thinkers, and the early-T'ang emperors alike. It was a well-established ideal, its roots going back to high antiquity – that of a strong and decisive yet humane monarch who takes careful heed of the counsel offered him by carefully selected advisers and courtiers imbued not only with administrative experience but also with the best of traditional wisdom, morality, and canonical learning; a monarch who is responsive to advice and has the gift of empathy both with his officials and with his people at large. In the minds of scholars of the eighth and ninth centuries this ideal image was firmly identified with T'ai-tsung, whose reign, characterized by the phrase “good governance of the *Chen-kuan* era,” gradually acquired a popular image that bore only an indirect relationship with the actual historical events.

T'ai-tsung himself was very conscious of his public image, and the way in which he would be presented in history for posterity. He deliberately cultivated a style of political authority designed to win the personal allegiance of his court, and to demonstrate the legitimacy of his rule. In setting this style for his reign T'ai-tsung, who was still in his twenties when he seized his father's throne, was first of all assuring himself of the court's assent to his irregular seizure of power. He had come to the throne by means of a violent *coup d'état* in which two of his elder brothers, one of them the designated heir-apparent, had been killed, following which his father had been obliged to abdicate in his favor. He was very conscious of the fact that the establishment of permanent order and an internally peaceful state depended upon the use of civil governance to stabilize and perpetuate what had been gained by violent means. He was also anxious to dissociate himself from the stereotypes of bad rulership that conventional scholars still called to mind based on such historical figures as the First Emperor of the Ch'in or Wu-ti 武帝 of the Han; these rulers were frequently disparaged as overly ambitious, activist, interventionist, self-willed, ruthless, and authoritarian. They were held to have achieved their successes only at the cost of immense human suffering and at the expense of the long-term stability of their dynasties. The people of T'ai-tsung's time had directly experienced the far-reaching disasters and collapse into anarchy resulting from the reign of just such a man, Sui Yang-ti 隋煬帝. It is worth remembering, when reading the translations below, that when T'ai-tsung took the throne in 626 Sui Yang-ti had been dead for less than a decade, and the final T'ang reunification had been completed only two years before. He and his father Kao-tsu 高祖 had served the Sui, as had almost every member of his court. Even when he wrote the *Ti-fan* 帝範 twenty years later, in 648, the dynasty was still only thirty-one years old.

The image of T'ai-tsung's reign as a period of ideally close relationships between the ruler and his ministers, which gained such a hold on the imaginations particularly of scholar-officials in the latter part of the T'ang period and in later dynasties, was in fact valid only for the first years of his reign when he was still anxious to live down the fact that he had ascended by fratricide and usurpation. After his first decade in power, as he became more and more confident in his sway over his court, he began to show signs of overbearing personal ambition. In fact, it is possible that the bitter hostility to Sui Yang-ti shown by the historians who wrote the official history of the Sui during T'ai-tsung's reign was not simply the result of the T'ang's need to portray the last years of the dynasty that it defeated as a period of flagrant misgovernment and Yang-ti himself as a self-destructive megalomaniac who had forfeited the Heavenly Mandate. It may also reflect the fact that T'ai-tsung was beginning to show strong signs of following his example, so that Yang-ti was perhaps also being held up by the historians as a warning example to him.²

The widely accepted eighth- and ninth-century image of T'ai-tsung's reign as an era of exemplary government did not arise simply from the collective memory of the events of his reign, now long in the past. It had been deliberately revived, crafted, and fostered in an extremely influential book, the *Chen-*

² The compilation of the Sui history, *Sui shu* 隋書, had been ordered by Kao-tsu in 622 following a request in 619 by Ling-hu Te-fen 令狐德棻, but nothing was accomplished for several years. After T'ai-tsung's accession, work was resumed in 629, and the Basic Annals and Biographies were presented to the throne in 636, together with the histories of the Liang, Ch'en, Northern Chou, and Northern Ch'i. They were known collectively as the “Histories of the Five Dynasties” (“Wu tai shih 五代史”). These histories still had no monographs, compilation of which was ordered in 641, and they were eventually completed in 656. They were designed to cover all five dynasties, and were first known as *Wu tai shih chih* 五代史志, but were eventually attached to the Sui history. The chief editor of *Sui shu* was Wei Cheng, T'ai-tsung's elderly chief advisor who strongly protested in the 630s against the deterioration in his style of government (Ling-hu Te-fen and Wei Cheng et al., *Sui shu* [Peking: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü, 1973]).

On the warning example to T'ai-tsung, see Howard J. Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1974), pp. 138–39; see also Michael C. Rogers, *The Chronicle of Fu Chien: A Case of Exemplar History* (Berkeley: U. California P., 1968), pp. 40–46, which suggests that similar motives were present later when T'ai-tsung's historians, compiling the *Chin shu* 晉書, wrote the account of the 4th-c. emperor Fu Chien 苻堅 (r. 351–55) of the Former Ch'in dynasty. *Chin shu* was completed between 646 and 648, after Wei Cheng's death, by a group of 21 compilers working under the joint directorship of Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡, Ch'u Sui-liang 褚遂良, and Hsü Ching-tung (see n. 1). T'ai-tsung took a close interest in its progress and himself contributed, writing historical essays summarizing the Basic Annals for the dynastic founder Ssu-ma I 司馬懿 (179–251) and for emperor Wu 武帝 (Ssu-ma Yen 司馬炎; r. 266–90), and wrote comments on the biographies of the writer Lu Chi 陸機 and the famous calligrapher Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之. (See Fang et al., *Chin shu* [Peking: Chung-hua shu-ch'ü, 1974] 1, p. 20–22; 3, pp. 81–82; 54, pp. 1487–88; 80, pp. 2107–8.) At the time of *Chin shu*'s compilation there was every reason for the historians to caution the emperor against activist, expansionary policies, following the disaster of T'ai-tsung's invasion of Koguryō in 645. The invasion emulated Yang-ti's earlier disaster in Korea that had triggered widespread uprisings and the fall of the Sui.

kuan cheng-yao 貞觀政要 (*Major Acts of Government in the Chen-kuan Reign*) written by the historian Wu Ching 吳兢 and completed in 709-712. Wu Ching was an official historian who was engaged in the ongoing compilation of the National History (*kuo-shih* 國史) of the T'ang dynasty down to his own times. But in the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* he was not writing simple history, nor was he writing in his official capacity. The book relates the conversations at court between T'ai-tsung and his advisers on a variety of topics, showing the close personal relationships and the mutual trust and respect between ruler and his ministers in a series of vivid incidents and conversations drawn from the record of his reign. Wu Ching was, of course, writing sixty years after T'ai-tsung's death in very special circumstances – the immediate aftermath of the fall of empress Wu, who had dominated the court for half a century, and under whom the collegial style of government that T'ai-tsung had practised and the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* exemplifies and glorifies had been replaced by an arbitrary and capricious authoritarianism. Wu Ching was not simply recording what had happened at T'ai-tsung's court; he was erecting an ideal image to which the T'ang, newly restored after empress Wu's interregnum, and temporarily suffering far worse misrule under the incompetent Chung-tsung 中宗 and his corrupt empress Wei, might still aspire.

It proved an extraordinarily potent ideal. When, in the first years of the ninth century, a real dynastic "restoration" seemed likely it was to the image of T'ai-tsung as reflected in this book that the new emperor Hsien-tsung 憲宗 (r. 805-820) was urged to conform. Later the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* proved a potent model not only in China during subsequent dynasties, but also in Korea and Japan, and even more surprisingly among the non-Chinese dynasties that established Chinese-style states in the north following the fall of the T'ang. It was translated into Khitan under the Liao, into Jurchen under the Chin, into Tangut in Hsi-Hsia, and into Mongolian under the Yüan. Later still, a Manchu translation was made. Even today it has a powerful appeal outside academic circles, and exerts an almost indelible influence on the way we all imagine T'ai-tsung and his era.

In the case of T'ai-tsung the picture presented by Wu Ching is not, however, our only source for the political ideals of his reign, for we also possess the emperor's own views on the imperial role. These are set forth in two surviving works, the first, *The Golden Mirror* (*Chin ching* 金鏡) written for and presented to his court shortly after he had usurped his father's throne in 628; and the second, entitled "Plan for an Emperor" (*Ti-fan* 帝範) written in 648, at the very end of his life, as a guide for the instruction of his heir-apparent, the future Kao-tsung.

T'ai-tsung was no more writing down his own views objectively than was

Wu Ching in creating his picture of court discussions. Each was engaged in his own form of propaganda. Each of the works by T'ai-tsung naturally attempted to throw light on what it meant to rule the empire while portraying himself sympathetically. They certainly give us a clear picture of what aspects of the ruler's role he considered essential, although he offers no details about any of his own specific actions as emperor. They provide a unique picture of how a T'ang emperor conceived of his role, and something of the individual man comes across through the formal language. I hope some shadow of his personality remains in my English versions.

In future it will be possible for us to go further in observing and analyzing how individual T'ang emperors performed their role in practise. Moreover, by close reading of the political documents promulgated in their names it should be possible to define subtle changes in imperial political ideology and political language. Even though such documents were not written by emperors themselves but by their ministers and officials skilled in literary composition, they were always referred to the ruler for his approval, and the resulting text was the end product either of commonly accepted positions, or of discussion between emperor and his circle of inner advisers.

A start has been made in studying the implications and repercussions of the two major deviations by individual sovereigns from the ideological norm: empress Wu's use of Buddhist ideology during the late 680s and 690s,³ and Hsüan-tsung's 玄宗 devotion to overtly Taoist political models in the last years of his life.⁴ But in both cases, traditional models of public behavior and traditional political language, loosely described as "Confucian," continued to be used alongside the newly emphasized religious ideology by ruler and court alike. Moreover, under a ruling house that claimed descent from Lao-tzu, low-keyed Taoist influences on ideas and language were always present, even when Taoism was not the dominant preoccupation of the current ruler. As we learn more and more about the period, it should be possible to look, for example, at the language of successive Acts of Grace to see secular changes within the "Confucian" language of public discourse and to identify the changing canonical authorities that were used to back up one policy choice or another. This,

³ See Antonino Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Oriente, 1976); Richard W. L. Guisso, *Wu Tse-i'ien and the Politics of Legitimation in Tang China*, Western Washington U., Program in East Asian Studies 11 (Bellingham, Washington: Western Washington University, 1978).

⁴ See Charles Benn, "Religious Aspects of Emperor Hsüan tsung's Taoist ideology," in David W. Chappell, ed., *Buddhist and Taoist Practice in Medieval Chinese Society*, *Buddhist and Taoist Studies* 2 (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1987), pp. 127-45; idem, "Taoism as Ideology in the Reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung (712-755)" (Ph.D. diss., U. Michigan, 1977).

however, is something for future scholarship to investigate more fully.

BACKGROUND OF THE GOLDEN MIRROR

Very soon after T'ai-tsung ascended the throne in 626, he wrote a document for distribution to his ministers in which he set out ideas about the role of an ideal ruler, and about a ruler's relationships with his ministers and subjects, based upon the lessons to be drawn from history. This document, entitled *Chin ching* 金鏡, was included in *Wen yüan ying-hua* 文苑英華 in 982–987;⁵ extracts were included in the late-thirteenth-century *Yü hai* 玉海 of Wang Ying-lin 王應麟 (1223–1296);⁶ and the whole text was later incorporated into *Ch'üan T'ang wen* 全唐文, completed in 1814.⁷ Neither *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 nor the Basic Annals of T'ai-tsung's reign in *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書, the basic surviving chronological outlines of court events, records its completion or its being distributed to the court. Its composition is mentioned in *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜,⁸ under the variant title *Chin-ching shu* 金鏡述, but this is dated only roughly to "the beginning of the Chen-kuan reign," implicitly before 632, the date of the following entry. *Yü hai*, also using the variant title,⁹ does give a

⁵ See Li Fang 李昉, comp., *Wen-yüan ying-hua* (1587 edn.; rpt. Peking: Chung-hua, 1965; hereafter, *WYH*) 360, pp. 1a–3b. "Chin-ching" refers to the past, to the rich body of historical experience that is at the disposal of a monarch wishing to see his own policies in the context of the actions of past rulers and the ideal models of antiquity. The idea of a mirror as providing a referent for one's behavior goes back to the earliest pieces in the *Book of Documents*, and has a parallel with the use of the term *speculum* in our own classical and medieval literatures. The specific phrase was not, however, an ancient one. Yü Shih-nan's 虞世南 (558–638) *Pei-t'ang shu ch'ao* 北堂書抄 (rpt. Taipei: Wen-hai, 1962) 136, p. 2a, gives the *locus classicus* as a lost apocryphal book on the *Book of Documents* entitled "Shang-shu k'ao ling-yao" 尚書考靈繹: "Ch'in lost the golden mirror." The accompanying commentary says, "The golden mirror is a metaphor for the brilliant way (*ming tao* 明道)." This same *locus* was cited later in Hsü Chien's 徐堅 (649–729) *Ch'u hsiieh chi* 初學記 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1962) 25, p. 607, in a slightly fuller form. *Ch'u hsiieh chi* also cites a similar term *yü-ching* 玉鏡, "jade mirror," from yet another apocryphon, "Shang-shu ti ming chi" 尚書帝命期: "the tyrant Chieh lost the jade mirror and employed his man-eating beasts," with the commentary that the jade mirror is a metaphor for the brilliant way, the man-eating beasts a figure for Chieh's violent cruelty. Yet another term, *pao-ching* 寶鏡 ("precious mirror"), also appears in the same sense. These terms all mean something like "the Way made clear [by past experience]."

⁶ *Yü hai* (1337–40 edn.; rpt. Taipei: Hua-wen shu-chü, 1964; hereafter, *YH*) 28, pp. 22a–24b; 32, pp. 17a–b.

⁷ Tung Kao 董誥 et al., comps., [*Ch'in-ting* 欽定] *Ch'üan T'ang wen* (1814 edn.; rpt. Taipei: Hua-wen, 1965; hereafter, *CTW*) 10, pp. 24a–29a.

⁸ See Su-ma Kuang 司馬光 *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* (Peking: Ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1956; hereafter, *TCTC*) 192, pp. 604b–48; Liu Hsiü 劉昫 et al., *Chiu T'ang shu* (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter, *CTS*) 2, p. 33; and Wang Ch'in-jo 王欽若 et al., *Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei* (1642 edn.; rpt. Peking: Chung-hua, 1960; hereafter, *TFYK*) 40, p. 16a.

⁹ *YH* 32, p. 17a, citing 歐陽修, Sung Ch'i 宋祁 et al., *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1975; hereafter, *HTS*) 166, pp. 5102–2 (on which see below), writes the title in yet another

precise date: the *keng-wu* (twenty-second) day of the first month of 628 (March 9, 628), a fact quoted from the Veritable Record of T'ai-tsung.¹⁰

Unlike the later *Ti-fan*, it remained a relatively obscure work. It is very rarely mentioned, and no important bibliography includes it as an independent book. It is not clear whether it ever circulated beyond court circles.¹¹

But at least one later T'ang emperor was certainly familiar with it. In 846 the new emperor Hsuan-tsung 宣宗, a son of Hsien-tsung, was unexpectedly placed upon the throne, breaking the line of succession that had passed through his elder brother Mu-tsung to the latter's three young sons, Ching-tsung, Wen-tsung, and Wu-tsung in turn. He was determined to restore the style of government of his father, who had himself expressed unbounded admiration for T'ai-tsung. The next year he appointed as his drafter of edicts Ling-hu T'ao 令狐綯, a son of Ling-hu Ch'u 令狐楚, the great minister who had been in charge of Hsien-tsung's obsequies. Hsuan-tsung questioned him in great detail about the events of Hsien-tsung's reign, and in the second lunar month of 848 appointed him a Han-lin scholar.

One night, [Hsuan-tsung] summoned him to discuss the sufferings among the people. The emperor took out a copy of the *Chin ching*, saying, "This was written by T'ai-tsung. Please set out its main points for me." T'ao selected some ideas from it and said, "Good governance never came about when inferior men were employed; disorder never came about when sage-worthies were employed. Employ sage-worthies and the whole empire will enjoy good fortune; employ inferior men and the whole empire will suffer calamity." Hsuan-tsung said, "Good, I shall regularly read this three times over, and that will be all." T'ao made a double obeisance and said; "If Your Majesty really wishes to revive the dynastic fortunes, [if Your Majesty was to] reject this, what could you prefer to it? As the Ode says,¹² 'Knowing so well what to do, then he will continue with it.'¹³

variant version: *Chin ching shu* 金鏡述. This is however, an error in *Yü hai*. *HTS* correctly writes 金鏡述.

¹⁰ See *YH* 24, pp. 22a–24b; 32, pp. 17a–b.

¹¹ In the 18th c. it received attention from Japanese *hangaku* scholars. But they took the text from *WYH*, not from any independent Japanese transmission going back to a version taken to Japan in the Nara or Heian periods, as in the case of the *Ti-fan*.

¹² A reference to the *Book of Songs*, Ode 214, 4: "君子有之維其有之是以似之"; trans. Arthur Waley, *The Book of Songs* (London: Geo. Allen & Unwin, 1937; hereafter *Songs/Waley*) no. 187, p. 196: "Gentlemen know what to do, And knowing so well what to do, Small wonder that they continue!"

¹³ See *HTS* 166, p. 5101; also *TCTC* 248, pp. 8032–33, which gives a slightly different version of the story. Hsuan-tsung gave him a copy of the book and ordered him to read from it. When Ling-hu T'ao reached the passage "Disorder never came about ..." the emperor stopped him

The Historical Context

Ling-hu T'ao certainly hit on the main point in the document, but to the modern reader it has other equally interesting features, particularly when we view it in its historical setting. It values low-key government with the minimum use of coercion and violence. It places great stress on the ruler's maintaining constant vigilance, not only about affairs as they develop, but also about the reactions of his ministers and of the populace to his actions. It attacks not only rulers who had abused their power to indulge in sadistic cruelty and violence, or who had become addicted to excesses of luxury and personal pleasure, but also those who had taken extreme and one-sided views on issues of government, especially about choices between military and civil solutions to problems. For him the appropriate use of military power was as essential as administration by civil means to ensure lasting peace.

He was, it must be remembered, writing at a very special historical moment. Although the T'ang had achieved internal peace and defeated their rivals, there still remained the powerful and immediate threat of the T'u-chüeh Turks. During the wars of unification Kao-tsu had been forced to buy off the Turks, and at one point even offered to become a vassal of the Turkish qaghan. The T'u-chüeh had given their support to various northern generals with pretensions to become successors of the Sui, and had raided the border prefectures repeatedly. In 624, just as the T'ang were defeating their last major internal opponents, the Turks had struck deep into Kuan-chung, penetrating as far as Pin-chou 關州, only one hundred miles northwest of the capital.

Almost immediately after T'ai-tsung's *coup d'état* at the Hsüan-men Gate on July 2, 626, a very large Turkish army, hoping to take advantage of the temporary instability at the T'ang court, had invaded Kuan-chung, and on September 23, less than three weeks after T'ai-tsung had ascended the throne, were encamped *en masse* on the north bank of the Wei River only ten miles or so from Ch'ang-an. T'ai-tsung had averted catastrophe by going in person with a handful of attendants to confront the Turkish Kaghan Hsieh-li 頡利可汗 on the Pien Bridge, and he and the kaghan had signed a solemn oath of peace, cemented in the traditional manner with the joint sacrifice of a white stallion, and accompanied by the payment of a very large amount of T'ang treasure to buy off the Turks. For the moment the danger was past, but the final defeat of the Turks had to wait until 630. When T'ai-tsung was writing the *Chin ching*

saying, "Whenever I seek to bring about perfect peace, I should use these words as my main guidance!" He also had the *Chen-kuan cheng yao* copied on a screen, and whenever he read from it he did so with a serious demeanour and folded hands.

early in 628 the defense of the frontiers remained his crucial preoccupation.¹⁴

Another complex issue he raises is the insecurity and vulnerability of the emperor in spite of his unchallenged position of supreme authority, the knife edge he needed to walk between conflicting demands upon him, the difficulty he faced from the cynical judgements of carping critics, the sense that things could always suddenly go fatally wrong. To secure and strengthen his position he needed above all to seek instruction from sage mentors and advisers, be willing to accept blunt advice, anxious to make good his own shortcomings, to accept personal responsibility for the turn of events and not hide behind claims that they are the results of Heaven-ordained fate, although he should be aware that Heaven might react violently to any of his own misdeeds. The emperor should be sensitive to the hardships and sufferings of the people, and refrain from laying onerous labor services and heavy taxes upon them to provide for his own extravagance.

The precise date of *The Golden Mirror* in the context of ongoing political events is crucial to our understanding of T'ai-tsung's concerns. The Hsüan-wu Gate coup on July 2, 626, for all its dramatic violence, did not immediately place T'ai-tsung on the throne. It had settled the long-standing succession struggle that had threatened the stability of the dynasty, with the murder of Li Shih-min's 李世民 only credible rivals, his elder brother the heir-apparent Li Chien-ch'eng 李建成 and his younger brother Li Yüan-chi 李元吉 and the subsequent execution of all their sons and the sons' descent-lines.¹⁵ This eliminated any royal line with a better or comparable claim to the succession than that of Li Shih-min. But Kao-tsu remained emperor, and there has been much speculation over whether he had in fact encouraged his rival heirs to fight it out to a conclusion before his own death, to avoid a destructive conflict over the succession.¹⁶ Whether this was so or not, he still faced the potential threat

¹⁴ On these events, see *TCTC* 191-192, pp. 6019-267. See also Denis Twitchett, gen. ed., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3: *Sui and Tang China, 581-907 AD* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1979), pp. 220-21; Li Shu-t'ung 李樹桐, *Tang shih k'ao-pien* 唐史考辨 (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), pp. 247-75; Andrew Eisenberg, "Warfare and Stability in Medieval North Asian Regimes," *TP* 83.4-5 (1997), pp. 300-28, esp. 320 ff.

¹⁵ Kao-tsu had 22 sons in all. But the only sons by his empress T'ai-mu, née Tou 太穆皇后竇氏, were his heir-apparent Li Chien-ch'eng (589-626), who was considerably older than his second son Li Shih-min (T'ai-tsung), and Li Yüan-chi, prince of Ch'ao (603-626), his fourth son. A third son Li Hsüan-pa, prince of Wei 衛王李玄霸, had died in childhood without issue some time before 618. After the Hsüan-wu Gate coup Li Chien-ch'eng's five surviving sons were executed, together with the five sons of Li Yüan-chi; subsequently an edict ordered that their descent lines be extinguished; see *CTS* 64, pp. 2413, 2419, 2422-23.

¹⁶ The most recent contribution to this problem is the article by Andrew Eisenberg, "Kingship, Power, and the Hsüan-wu Incident," *TP* 80.4-5 (1994), pp. 223-59. This study gives a very interesting and detailed account of the political background of the coup and its aftermath, and a

of further violence to himself, and now had to accept the unavoidable outcome.

His first act was to appoint Li Shih-min as heir-apparent in place of his murdered elder brother. The edict appointing him was issued July 5,¹⁷ and on the same day another imperial edict ordered that the new heir-apparent should have the powers to settle routine governmental matters of state.¹⁸ Kao-tsu, however, remained emperor and continued to issue imperial edicts, while T'ai-tung issued his own orders as commands (*ling* 令), the conventional format for an heir-apparent.

The political atmosphere remained tense. Many partisans of the deceased princes were widely scattered among the populace, and on August 7, 626, Li Shih-min issued an order forbidding the people from spreading information concerning either the late heir-apparent or Li Yüan-chi, or about Li Yüan, prince of Lu-chiang 盧江王李瑗, who had attempted an abortive uprising in Yu-chou 幽州 in Hopei.¹⁹ A feature of the previous two decades of political unrest had been the constant use of prophecies, prognostication, and magical techniques to legitimize the claims of rebels or to predict political change. To bring this under control, on September 29 a prohibition was laid on the reporting of omens and portents to the court,²⁰ and on October 22 another edict

full summary of the views of earlier scholars. I differ with him on two of his main conclusions, on each of which the evidence is inconclusive, and probably impossible to resolve. The first is the precise role of Kao-tsu in this incident. Was he responsible, as the author believes, for deliberately engineering the whole episode over a period of several years, aiming to prevent a disastrous succession struggle after his own death, which would probably have ended the T'ang? Or was he simply unable to actively intervene and impose his own solution to the rivalry? Did he support his heir-apparent Li Chien-ch'eng, or Li Shih-min? Or was he simply happy to acquiesce in the results of Li Shih-min's act of violence, which meant at least that the issue was tidily resolved in his own lifetime. I am inclined to follow Professor Eisenberg's general conclusion that Kao-tsu was not simply a helpless spectator. But I remain unconvinced that he had been planning events so deliberately, or over such a long period. I see his role as more reactive than proactive. The second of his conclusions which I would question is his view that Kao-tsu retained substantial authority after T'ai-tung's accession. Of course he remained in the main palace until 629, and we know that for a while T'ai-tung paid courtesy calls at his court. He certainly retained moral authority. There is no question that his removal in 629 was a major symbolic change and signaled a shift of formal power to T'ai-tung. This is underlined by a fact that Professor Eisenberg has overlooked, that the Ta-an Palace to which he was removed had been built by Kao-tsu as T'ai-tung's residence when he was moved out of the main palace in 622, with no prospect of ever becoming emperor, and the move was thus a reversal of roles. But there is no specific evidence whatever of Kao-tsu's personal influence in any of the major political events between 627 and 629.

¹⁷ See *CTS* 1, p. 17; 2, p. 29. The edict is in Wang P'u 王溥 *T'ang hui-yao* 唐會要 (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1935; rpt. Peking: Chung-hua, 1955; hereafter, *THY*) 1, p. 2; Sung Min-ch'iu 宋敏求, *T'ang ta chao-ling chi* 唐大詔令集 (Peking: Shang-wu, 1959; hereafter *TTCLC*) 27, p. 93; also *IFYK* 72, p. 14b; 79, p. 37b; 257, p. 1a; and *WYH* 443, p. 7a.

¹⁸ *CTS* 2, p. 29; *TTCLC* 30, p. 110; *IFYK* 79, p. 40a, and 259, p. 3b. ¹⁹ *TCTC* 191, p. 6017.

²⁰ *TCTC* 193, p. 6056; *THY* 28, p. 331; *TTCLC* 114, p. 594; *IFYK* 63, p. 8b.

prohibited the setting up of magical deities (*yao-shen* 妖神) or the wanton performance of heterodox ceremonies (*yin-ssu* 淫祀) in private households, and the performance of sacrifices (*tz'u-tao* 祠禱) unauthorized by the rites. All unsanctioned forms of prediction, apart from the tortoise-shell, the *Book of Changes*, and the *wu-chao* 五兆 were banned.²¹ Prophecies and magic prognostications continued, nevertheless, and throughout 627 there were a number of other minor rebellions, all of them centering on lesser members of the imperial family.²²

On September 9, 626, Kao-tsu finally promulgated the edict formally transferring the throne to T'ai-tung,²³ who ascended the throne the next day,²⁴ and issued a General Act of Grace to the empire.²⁵ The elder statesman P'ei Chi 裴寂 (569–628), who had been one of the first supporters of the T'ang uprising in 617 and had become Kao-tsu's closest adviser and the most powerful man at his court, had been given the honorary rank of grand minister of works (*ssu k'ung* 司空) at the beginning of 626, and was now deputed to make the burnt offering at the great southern suburban altar (*ch'ai-k'ao* 柴考) to announce T'ai-tung's enthronement to Heaven.²⁶ Li Shih-min was enthroned, however, not in the T'ai-chi tien 太極殿, the great hall of the Imperial Palace, but in the Hsien-te tien 顯德殿, the main hall of the Eastern Palace, his formal residence as heir-apparent, where he continued to live and enact business.²⁷

As was customary on the accession of a new sovereign, symbolic acts of "freeing living beings" (*fang sheng* 放生) were performed to mark a "new beginning." The hunting dogs and hawks kept in the imperial park had been released immediately after his appointment as heir-apparent,²⁸ and after his

²¹ *CTS* 2, p. 30.

²² In the first lunar mo. of 627 Li I, prince of Yen-chün 燕郡王李藝, seized Ching-chou 涇州 but was soon beheaded by his own entourage; *CTS* 2, p. 32. In the fourth mo. Li Yu, prince of Ch'ang-le 長樂王李幼, the governor-general of Liang-chou 梁州, was executed for some unspecified offense; *CTS* 2, p. 32. In the 12th, Li Hsiao-chang, prince of I-an 義安王李孝常, the governor-general of Li-chou 利州, and a guards-general named Liu Te-yü 劉德裕 were executed for plotting rebellion; *CTS* 2, p. 33. (Hereafter, in the notes, whenever the word "month" [mo.] is used, it will refer to the Chinese lunar month.)

²³ See *IFYK* 10, p. 10b; *TTCLC* 30, p. 115; *CTS* 1, p. 17; *CTS* 2, p. 30.

²⁴ *IFYK* 10, p. 12b; *TTCLC* 1, p. 1; *CTS* 2, p. 30.

²⁵ *CTS* 2, p. 30. Parts of the Act of Grace are found in *IFYK* 59, p. 8a; 80, p. 1a; 84, p. 1a; 147, p. 2b; 490, p. 8a; and *TTCLC* 2, p. 6.

²⁶ See *CTS* 1, p. 16; *CTS* 57, p. 2288; *TCTC* 191, p. 5999. The edict appointing him is in *IFYK* 72, p. 14a; *TTCLC* 44, p. 215; *CTW* 3, p. 5b. P'ei had requested retirement, but Kao-tsu appointed him to the titular position of *ssu-k'ung* instead. He did not attend court regularly, but Kao-tsu had one of the under-secretaries in the Department of State in turn call at his mansion every day as a special mark of his esteem. On the ritual announcement, see *CTS* 2, p. 30; edict in *IFYK* 10, p. 13b.

²⁷ *CTS* 2, p. 30.

²⁸ *CTS* 2, p. 29.

enthronement on September 14, three thousand palace women were freed from service in the imperial harem as an act of clemency.²⁹ Subsequently he carried out the two major ceremonial acts which firmly established his position as the new emperor. He principal consort née Chang-sun 長孫 was appointed empress on September 16,³⁰ and his eldest son Li Ch'eng-ch'ien, the prince of Chung-shan 中山王李承乾, was appointed heir-apparent on November 2, 626.³¹ Finally, at the beginning of the following new year, T'ai-tsung announced his new reign title, Chen-kuan 貞觀, "True Vision."³² A last ritual act confirming his position took place some months after *The Golden Mirror* was promulgated, on December 19, 628, when for the first time T'ai-tsung undertook the solemn sacrifice to Heaven at the Southern Suburban Altar.³³

After his abdication Kao-tsu was entitled retired emperor (*t'ai-shang hua-ng*), but at the time of *The Golden Mirror's* completion he continued to reside in the imperial palace, where he remained until May 8, 629, when he removed to a separate palace, the Ta-an kung 大安宮, which had originally been built in 622 for Li Shih-min's occupation when he was prince of Ch'in,³⁴ and T'ai-tsung at last began to hold court regularly in the main T'ai-chi Palace 太極宮. But this move, which followed the dismissal of P'ei Chi on charges connected with yet another set of prophecies, did not take place until more than a year after *The Golden Mirror* was completed.³⁵

As long as his father remained active, T'ai-tsung did not enjoy complete independence of action, and this helps explain the obsession with succession through abdication that is evident in his writings below. Their tense relation-

²⁹ *CTS* 2, p. 30; *TCTC* 191, p. 6018; *IFYK* 42, p. 10a; *THY* 3, pp. 35-36.

³⁰ *CTS* 2, p. 30. ³¹ *CTS* 2, p. 31; *TCTC* 191, p. 6024; *IFYK* 257, p. 2a; *ITCLC* 27, p. 93.

³² See *IFYK* 15, p. 13a; *ITCLC* 3, p. 14; *CTS* 2, p. 32. On the stages of ritual involved in Kao-tsu's abdication and the formal transfer of power to T'ai-tsung, see Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk* (New Haven and London: Yale U.P., 1985), pp. 78-104.

³³ See *CTS* 2, p. 36; *TCTC* 193, p. 6059.

³⁴ The construction of the Ta-an Palace (originally the Hung-i Palace 弘義宮) had been ordered by Kao-tsu in the 7th mo. of 622. As prince of Ch'in, T'ai-tsung had previously lived in the Ch'eng-ch'ien Hall in the main palace. After T'ai-tsung usurped the throne in 626, Kao-tsu remained for some time in the main palace; in the 4th mo. 629 he was moved to Hung-i Palace, which he particularly loved because of its views. The name was changed at this time to the Ta-an kung. It was "west of the city," but the precise location is unknown.

³⁵ P'ei Chi fell from power February 27, 629. Kao-tsu moved from the main palace on May 8; see *CTS* 2, p. 36. T'ai-tsung first held court in the T'ai-chi tien of the main palace May 21. At the time of the *Golden Mirror's* composition in 628 T'ai-tsung still treated P'ei Chi with great respect. Only a few weeks before, at the New Year sacrifices at the Southern Suburban Altar, T'ai-tsung insisted that he share a position of honor in one of the imperial carriages with Chang-sun Wu-chi; *CTS* 57, p. 2288.

ship also throws light on the passage in *The Golden Mirror* that questions whether filial piety and loyalty mean the same for a ruler as for his inferiors. However, even before 629 there is no real evidence either that Kao-tsu seriously interfered in politics or that he retained day-to-day authority over the most important decisions or over any specific matters, as Jui-tsung 睿宗 did later when he shared power with Hsüan-tsung in somewhat similar circumstances in 712-713.³⁶ After 629 the retired emperor appeared on a number of formal occasions and was treated with due deference by T'ai-tsung,³⁷ but never seems

P'ei Chi's fall came about through his alleged involvement in the case of a disgruntled monk called Fa-ya 法雅 who had previously had free entrée into both palaces (that is Kao-tsu's main palace and T'ai-tsung's Eastern Palace). Being suddenly barred, out of resentment he began uttering magical incantations, and was arrested. His was a capital crime under *Code: article* 268, and his interrogation was supervised by Tu Ju-hui. Fa-ya claimed that P'ei Chi knew what he had said. P'ei Chi denied this, insisting that their conversation had been about the weather and epidemics, and nothing to do with magic. But Fa-ya stuck to his testimony. Since failure to report such magical incantations or prophecies was also a serious offence, T'ai-tsung dismissed P'ei from office, reduced his fief income by half, banished him from the capital and sent him to his family home in P'u-chou, refraining from more serious punishment on account of his great services to the dynasty. P'ei Chi soon after became involved in further trouble resulting from another deranged magician-prophet calling himself Hsin-hsing 信行, who had once told one of P'ei's household slaves that "Lord P'ei has Heavenly endowments (*t'ien-fen* 天分)." The overseer of P'ei's slaves Kung-ming 恭命 reported this to P'ei Chi, who was so frightened (after his recent encounter) that he dared not report the matter as required by law. Instead he secretly ordered Kung-ming to kill the slave to whom Hsin-hsing had spoken. Kung-ming concealed him, but P'ei Chi was unaware of this. Subsequently Kung-ming defrauded P'ei Chi when on a tax-collecting mission for him, and when pursued by P'ei's people, Kung-ming was terrified and reported to the authorities, implicating P'ei. T'ai-tsung was furious: "P'ei Chi has committed four crimes worthy of death. Holding the position of one of the Three Dukes he had secret dealings with the magician Fa-ya; after this came to light he remained stubborn and resentful and claimed that our dynasty's gaining the empire was the result of his own planning. When another magician said the he had "Heavenly endowments," he concealed the fact and failed to report it; and he secretly carried out murder to silence the mouth [of the man who had heard this prophecy. If I were to have him killed, I would not do so without due discussion. If most of my counsellors suggest he be permanently exiled, We shall follow the majority." P'ei Chi was sentenced to hard labor in Chiao-chou (Annam), but in the end was exiled to Ching-chou 靜州 (Szechwan). When some mountain Ch'iang tribes rebelled, somebody claimed that the rebels forced Chi to become their leader. When T'ai-tsung heard this he said, "Our state has made a gracious gift of his life to Chi, he certainly could not have acted thus!" Soon after, the true facts emerged: that he had led his household servants to destroy the bandits. T'ai-tsung then remembered P'ei Chi's past services in aiding the dynastic founding, and summoned him back to court. But he died just at that time. He was posthumously appointed prefect of Hsiang-chou, president of the Board of Works, and duke of Ho-tung commandery (his native place). His son and heir to his dukedom, P'ei Lü-shih 律師, was married to T'ai-tsung's younger sister the senior princess Lin-hai 臨海長公主 and eventually became prefect of Pien-chou; *CTS* 57, pp. 2288-89.

³⁶ See *Cambridge History of China* 3, pp. 344-45.

³⁷ His last public appearance seems to have been his presiding, attended by T'ai-tsung, at the Grand Military Exercises (*yüeh wu* 閱武) held to the west of Ch'ang-an on January 6, 635, and at the grand entertainment that followed; *CTS* 1, pp. 17-18; 3, p. 44. He fell ill at about that time and died on June 25, 635; *CTS* 1, p. 18; *TCTC* 194, p. 6112.

to have participated in ordinary public business.³⁸

After his accession, matters of defense were T'ai-tsung's immediate pre-occupation. Following the conclusion of peace with Hsieh-li Qaghan of the Turks in September 626, T'ai-tsung spent much effort improving the state of preparedness of the palace guards and other troops at the capital, scandalizing the conventional Confucian statesmen at court by exercising them in archery in the courtyard of his own palace, in spite of the strict prohibition against any person bearing arms in the emperor's presence.³⁹ On January 25, 627, the third day of the new year of T'ai-tsung's new Chen-kuan reign period, he gave a great banquet to the court at which the musical piece "Ch'in-wang p'o-chen yüeh 秦王破陳樂," which celebrated his victories during the dynastic founding, was performed, as T'ai-tsung himself said, to remind the court that military power had been the foundation of the dynasty's success.⁴⁰ By 628 the results of this constant attention to military preparedness were beginning to bear fruit, and the foundation was laid for the final defeat of the Turks in 630.

But T'ai-tsung's most important accomplishments between his enthronement in September 626, and his issuing of *The Golden Mirror* to his court on March 9, 628, were the sweeping changes in the key personnel at court. Andrew Eisenberg, in his very perceptive recent study of the Hsüan-wu Gate incident, has shown clearly how in this short period the key members of Kao-tsu's court were replaced by T'ai-tsung's own supporters, including most of the ministers who would provide the backbone of his administration until the 640s.⁴¹

The crucial changes in personnel were made while he was still formally heir-apparent, and must have had Kao-tsu's acquiescence. On August 4, Kao Shih-lien 高士廉 (576-647) was appointed president of the Chancellery (*shih-chung*), and Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡 (578-648) was appointed president of the Secretariat (*chung-shu ling*), thus placing trusted allies in control of the main deliberative organs of government. Hsiao Yü 蕭瑀 (575-648), a middle-aged and difficult man who had served Kao-tsu since 623 as one of the two heads of the executive Department of State Affairs, was promoted to the senior of these posts (*shang-shu yu p'u-yeh*) with the devious Feng Te-i 封德彝 (Feng Lun 封倫, 568-627) as his junior colleague. For the moment this kept control of the

³⁸ It is perhaps significant that the Annals of T'ai-tsung in *CTS* break into two separate chapters at the end of this year, rather than at the date of Kao-tsu's death in 635.

³⁹ *CTS* 2, pp. 30-31; *TCTC* 192, pp. 6021-22.

⁴⁰ See *THY* 33, pp. 612-13; *IFYK* 569, pp. 8a-b. "P'o-chen yüeh" was later reset as "Ch'i-te yüeh 七德樂," becoming the grandest of the pieces of court music, in 633. It originated during Li Shih-min's campaigns, and was a triumphant dance, a spectacular display of martial valor. Unfortunately the words have not been preserved, although the music of a later version has been reconstructed by Lawrence Picken and others in a remarkable feat of historical musicology.

⁴¹ Eisenberg, "Kingship, Power, and the Hsüan-wu Incident," pp. 241-50.

highest posts in the executive in the hands of experienced servants of Kao-tsu. But the two ministers quarrelled constantly, even in the emperor's presence at court. In the tenth lunar month of 626 Hsiao Yü quarrelled publicly with another of Kao-tsu's old supporters, Ch'en Shu-ta 陳叔達 (d. 635), and T'ai-tsung dismissed them both for "great irreverence." On April 1, 627, however, Hsiao was made junior preceptor to the heir-apparent and returned to active life at court. His feuding with Feng Te-i ended with the latter's sudden death on July 18, after which Hsiao immediately resumed his post at the Department of State Affairs.⁴²

Perhaps the most important new appointments were to slightly less high-ranking but crucially important posts within the Department of State Affairs, both of which went to close supporters of the future T'ai-tsung who had been active participants in the Hsüan-wu Gate coup. His brother-in-law Chang-sun Wu-chi 長孫無忌 (c. 600-659) was appointed as president of the Board of Civil Office, and Tu Ju-hui 杜如晦 (585-630) as president of the Board of War. These two appointments gave T'ai-tsung control of all official appointments, both in the civil bureaucracy and in the military.

One of his first acts as emperor was to ennoble the main participants in the Hsüan-wu Gate coup: Chang-sun Wu-chi, Fang Hsüan-ling, Yü-ch'ih Ching-te 尉遲敬德 (who had killed Li Yüan-chi), Tu Ju-hui, and Hou Chiün-chi 侯君集 were all honored as dukes of states (*kuo-kung* 國公). In the winter of 626 lavish fiefs of maintenance were showered upon both those who had played prominent roles in the dynastic founding and those who had been his former allies and subordinates, and by the end of 627 members of his personal following were ever more firmly entrenched throughout the highest levels of the metropolitan and provincial bureaucracy. By the time *The Golden Mirror* was written, Pei Chi was the only "founder supporter" of Kao-tsu left in an influential position.

A broader personnel problem still faced him. During the long years of civil conflict that had just ended the whole selection system for officials had fallen into disuse, and there was a serious shortage of adequate candidates for appointment.⁴³ This problem was particularly acute as the empire tried to replace the militarized local administrations that had emerged during the war-time conditions with regular civil government. The selection of officials – not simply finding suitable men for offices, but employing each of them in appropriate posts so as to make the best use of their individual talents – was the key to success in founding a new administration.

He was of course addressing himself in *The Golden Mirror* to the officials

⁴² See *TCTC* 192, pp. 6025, 6036; *CTS* 2, p. 32; 63, pp. 2397, 2401. ⁴³ See *TCTC* 192, p. 6043.

and advisers he had chosen. Such words would have assured them that he had indeed chosen them with great care, and reassured them that he intended to rule not as an autocrat, but in a collegial manner, always open to their admonitions and criticisms, willing to back down in the face of persuasive argument, conscious of the need to defer to their judgement and to delegate authority.

These statements, set out at the beginning of his reign, show clearly enough that the general tenor of his administration, what we have come to accept as the image of the "good governance of the Chen-kuan period," was neither cynical window-dressing to present his power in a favorable light, nor simply a construction of official diarists and historians, or of Wu Ching's *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* in the early-eighth century, or of later historians writing under more repressive regimes looking back nostalgically. T'ai-tsung's own human failings, which he admits in the *Ti-fan* written twenty years later, and the pattern of events beyond his control may have made him less than perfectly successful in keeping to his ideals, but it is clear that almost from the moment of his usurping the throne it was his set intention to rule the empire in this way.

At the time T'ai-tsung composed *The Golden Mirror*, he had been through two very taxing and difficult years, even for a man of his indomitable spirit and boundless energy. When he begins by speaking of "when we enjoy some leisure from myriad affairs of state...", his readers, most of whom had served at court through this period of crisis, would, I imagine, have responded to the irony.

TRANSLATION OF *THE GOLDEN MIRROR*

When We enjoyed some leisure from the myriad affairs of state, We set our mind to roam through the histories of former times. Looking up in admiration at the lofty characteristics of the Six Ages of Antiquity, and examining the traces left by the hundred rulers, it is possible to speak about the changing cycles of flourishing and decline. Whenever We contemplate the government by non-action⁴⁴ of the Yellow Emperor or Shao-kao,⁴⁵ or the perfection of good government achieved by T'ang (Yao 堯) and Yü (Shun 舜),⁴⁶ We always pause to sigh with admiration, unable to

stop ourselves, whereas when We reach the last reigns of the Hsia and Yin, or the tyrannous rulers of Ch'in and Han, it makes Us awestruck and fearful, "as though walking on rotten wood or thin ice."

Now every ruler of men who has occupied the throne has desired to enjoy his position of esteem as [the ruler of a state of] ten-thousand chariots for ever, and to bequeath it to a posterity of a hundred [successive] rulers. Yet their successes and failures came about suddenly from different causes; their prosperity and peril did not always result from the same origins.⁴⁷ Why was this? They were deficient in examining themselves, did not heed advice that offended their ears, and thus they came to destruction. To the end of their lives they remained unaware: should they not have been afraid? If one carefully observes the fundamental origins of good government and of disorder, it is sufficient⁴⁸ to serve as a warning example seen in a bright mirror.

Disorder has always been the result of employing men of inferior worth: good government has always come about by employing loyal and worthy men. If one employs the loyal and worthy, then one's empire will enjoy good fortune; if one employs men of inferior worth, then one's empire will suffer calamity. A ruler in times of danger should treat each one of his subjects as his teacher. If they can make him aware [of reality] then how can the Altars of Soil and Grain suffer the grief⁴⁹ of mortal peril? Such danger comes especially from [the ruler's] not keeping his mind on his employment [of suitable officials], but on the contrary concentrating on the pursuit of vain pleasure. How can he fail to suffer sorrow! If he was to take as his pleasure the selection of suitable officials, and consider the choice and employment of suitable officials as his most enjoyable pursuit, would that not be admirable!

The ancients said: "Shun and Yü (禹, Shun's minister; tamer of the great flood) were not fond of music, were not greedy for sensual beauty." I would say that this was not so, I believe they did love [these things]. Men say, "Chieh 桀 and Chou 紂⁵⁰ were addicted to music and sensual-

⁴⁴ Following *WYTH*'s 無為; *CTW* reads 不常.

⁴⁵ Following *WYTH*'s 足為, which also notes a variant reading 是為.

⁴⁶ Adopting the reading 懷, which *WYTH* notes as a variant, rather than the reading 覆, which it follows in its text. If the latter reading is adopted, the translation would read "suffer the destruction of mortal peril."

⁴⁹ Chieh is the tyrannous last emperor of the Hsia dynasty. Chou is Ti-hsin 帝辛, the last emperor of the Yin dynasty. For his lurid misdeeds, see Ssu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷, *Shih chi* 史記 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 3, pp. 105-9; trans. Édouard Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Sse-ma Ts'ien* (Paris, 1895; hereafter, *SC/Chavannes*) 1, pp. 199-208; William H. Nienhauser, Jr. et al., *The Grand Scribe's Records* (Bloomington: U. Indiana P., 1994; hereafter *SC/Nienh.*) 1, pp. 49-52.

⁴⁴ *Wu-wei* 無為 is used here in the sense of government by virtuous example without the use of coercion, repressive laws, and powerful institutions.

⁴⁵ Hsüan 軒 stands for Hsüan-yüan 軒轅, another name for the Yellow Emperor Huang ti 黃帝. Hao 昊 is more fully Shao-hao 少昊, the next of the mythological rulers of antiquity. The two names linked together here are used to evoke generally the "times of the ancient Saint Kings (San-huang wu-ti 三黃五帝)."

⁴⁶ T'ang is short for T'ao-T'ang shih 陶唐氏, the name of Yao 堯; Yü 虞 is short for Yu Yü shih 有虞氏, the name of Shun 舜.

ity." Yet I say that they were not truly fond of [these things]. How can we know this was so? Chieh and Chou did not reach the end of their Heaven-ordained span. Their pleasures did not even last a single generation. I consider this proof that they were not truly fond [of these things]. Shun and Yü on the other hand, lived to a ripe old age (supposedly eighty-one and seventy-four, respectively); their joys flowered in their own generation. I call this proof that they loved such things.

Now men have violent and impatient, tolerant and weak wills; sad and joyful, covetous and greedy hearts; thoughtful and affectionate, clever and wise natural endowments. These are their natural attributes, endowed on them by Heaven. Some are good, some are not good. If we look upon them from this viewpoint, Yao, Shun, Yü and T'ang 湯⁵¹ personally practiced humanity and righteousness: their rule achieved glorious peace. This shows that the nature with which they were endowed was good. [King] Yu 禹,⁵² [King] Li 厲,⁵³ Chieh, and Chou imposed the punishment of roasting,⁵⁴ ripped open pregnant women, cut out men's hearts,⁵⁵ cut off the leg of an old man crossing a river at dawn [to look at the marrow of his bones],⁵⁶ pickled the flesh of the Marquis of Kuei [and fed it to his feudal lords],⁵⁷ constructed a lake of wine and a hill of wine lees,

⁵¹ T'ang here is not 唐, the name of Yao, but T'ang the Perfected (Ch'eng T'ang 成湯), founder of the Shang (Yin) dynasty.

⁵² Yu is king Yu of Chou (r. 781-771 BC), the last Western Chou ruler. He removed his queen, Lady Shen 申后, and became besotted with a harem favourite, Pao Ssu 褒姒. He lost the capital, and subsequently his life to the joint armies of the queen's relative the marquis of Shen 申侯 and the Ch'üan Jung 犬戎 tribes.

⁵³ The king of Chou (ca. 864-828 BC), whose cruelty and extravagance, and his stubborn refusal to listen to any remonstrance, caused his people to drive him out.

⁵⁴ *Pao-lo* 炮烙 was devised by Chou; the offender was made to walk across a greased bronze pole over an open fire. If he fell off he burned to death; *Shih-chi* 3, p. 106.

⁵⁵ This refers to Chou's murder of his uncle Pi-kan 比干, who attempted to remonstrate with him about his licentious conduct. Chou became infuriated and said to him "I have heard that a sage's heart has seven apertures." He then cut open Pi-kan's chest to examine his heart; see *Shih-chi* 3, p. 108.

⁵⁶ The commentary to Wu Yün 吳云 and Chi Yü 冀宇, eds., *T'ang Tai-tsung chi* 水唐太宗集 (Sian: Shensi Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1986), pp. 204-37, refers this to a story in *Shui-ching chu* 水經注 10, sect. "Chi-shui 濟水," that I am unable to locate. An old man was going to cross the river at dawn, but chanted to himself "It is difficult to cross." Chou heard him and asked why he was doing this. His attendants told him, "The old man's bone-marrow is deficient, and thus he feels the dawn cold." Chou then and there had his lower leg cut off so that he could examine the bone marrow.

⁵⁷ See *Li chi* 禮記, sect. 14, "Ming-t'ang wei 明堂位"; trans. James Legge, *The Li Ki*, vols. 27, 28 of *The Sacred Books of the East* (London: Oxford U.P., 1885; rpt. with pref. by Ch'u Chai and Winberg Chai, New York, 1967; hereafter, *Rites/Legge*) 2, p. 31, "Formerly when Chou of Yin was throwing the whole kingdom into confusion, he made dried slices 脯 of [the flesh of] the marquis of Kuei 鬼侯, and used them in feasting the princes." This story is recounted in more

and drank the night through⁵⁸ – this shows that the nature they received from Heaven was not good.

Now the correct way to establish oneself depends upon compromise between differing principles, not upon being partial to one extreme. Wu Ch'i 吳起 said: "In ancient times there was the lord of Sang-shih 桑氏, who cultivated his virtue and suppressed the military, and as a result brought destruction upon his kingdom, but there was also the lord of Hu-shih 扈氏, who relied upon his great army, and loved valor, and thus lost the Altars of Soil and Grain of his state."⁵⁹

Confucius said: "Temper ferocity with kindness: temper kindness with ferocity."⁶⁰ If even in the Way of humanity and righteousness, it is still impossible to be partial to one extreme, how much more is this the case in the left-handed Way, how much more in the Ways that deny humanity! The Way of acting as a ruler is that he occupies the supreme place of honor; he makes the multitudes the object of his feelings,⁶¹ the myriad states the object of his will. In ruling his people he must do so by civil virtue; but in protecting his borders he must do so by military might. Confucius said: "If the influence exerted through civil culture (*wen*) is profound, then those who submit to your military strength will be great; if your virtue (*te*) is spread broadly, then the territories that can be con-

detail in *Shih-chi* 3, p. 106: "The marquis of Chiu 九侯 had a beautiful daughter who was taken into Chou's harem. She was not pleased with his debauched ways, whereupon Chou was enraged and killed her, and minced and pickled 醢 [her father] the marquis of Chiu." For the identity of Kuei-hou and Chiu-hou, which are different orthographies of the same name, see the note by Hsü Kuang in the *chi-chieh* commentary, quoted in *Shih-chi* 3, p. 107, n. 2.

⁵⁸ See *Shih-chi* 3, p. 105: "By a pool filled with wine, through meat hanging like a forest, he made naked men and women chase one another and engage in drinking long into the night." The additional detail of the "hill of wine lees" (*tsao ch'iu* 糟丘) comes from a version of the story where it is not Chou referred to but Chieh; see *Han-shih wai-chuan* 韓氏外傳 4, para. 2, trans. James R. Hightower, *Han shih wai chuan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1952), p. 125: "Chieh made a wine lake in which a boat could move about, and the resulting mound of dregs was so high that from it one could see for a distance of ten *li*. There were three thousand persons who drank [from the lake] like cattle."

⁵⁹ See *Wu tzu* 吳子 1, "T'u kuo 圖國" (Kambun taikei edn.), pp. 2-3. This reads slightly differently: "In ancient times the lord of the Ch'eng-sang clan 承桑氏之君 cultivated virtue and neglected military affairs, thereby leading to the extinction of his state. The ruler of the Yu Hu clan 扈氏 relied upon his armies and loved courage, and thereby lost his state's ancestral altars of soil and grain"; trans. Ralph D. Sawyer, *The Seven Military Classics of Ancient China* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), p. 206, emended author.

⁶⁰ 仲尼曰,寬以濟猛猛以濟寬, a quotation from *K'ung-tzu chia-yü* 孔子家語; see *The Concordance to the Kongzi jia-yü* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, ICCS Concordance Ser., 1993) 41, p. 12; 77, p. 15.

⁶¹ *WYTH* reads 以德兆為君: "He considers the multitudes as their lord," or "Towards the multitudes he acts as lord," which makes little sense and loses the parallelism with the following

trolled through military might will be wide."⁶² It is not possible to bring peace to the people by awesome military power alone, and impossible to defend the frontiers by civil virtue. When the whale leaves the water, he must relinquish his ability to roam the waves, when the wild goose is stuck in the mud, he will certainly lose his ability to ride through the sky.⁶³ But if each is allowed to follow his own natural inclinations, then [the prince] will not lose his abilities.⁶⁴

The ancients said, "If you wish to construct a great building, first select the master builder, and only then choose the timber. In ruling a state, first select your assistants, and only after that is done settle the people." If a great builder is erecting a house he will certainly use the large timbers for beams and ridgepole, and use the small timbers for eaves-rafters.⁶⁵ If none of the wood that fits the measurements⁶⁶ is discarded, then he is a good manager of timber. It is not only houses that have ridgepoles and cross-beams: a state is also just the same. Those of great virtue should act as its chief ministers, and they too are the ridgepoles and cross beams of the state.⁶⁷

I consider that ever since the three dynasties of antiquity, whenever the prince has loved humanity the people have surely followed him.⁶⁸ However, if the man in the supreme position gives all his attention to

clause. I follow *CTW*, which reads 以億兆為心, "He makes the multitudes the object of his feelings (or concern)."

⁶² 孔子曰：夫文之所加者深則武之所服者大；德之所施者博則武之所制者廣。I am unable to identify the source of this quotation.

⁶³ *WYH* notes variant: 雲, "the clouds," in place of 空, "the void, sky."

⁶⁴ Following the reading 若使各令遂志不失其能. *WYH* also notes a variant reading: 若使各遂心並不失其志, which would mean: "If each is allowed to follow his natural inclinations, then they will not lose their will."

⁶⁵ *WYH* reads *hsiang-liao* 樑椽 and notes a variant: *chüeh* 樑, "rafters." *CTW* reads *ts'ui-liao* 樑椽, "rafters."

⁶⁶ Following the reading 所有中尺寸之木. *WYH* notes a variant reading: 苟有所患中寸之木, which does not make sense.

⁶⁷ The idea of planning and erecting a building as a metaphor for setting up a state was an ancient and potent one. In the mid-8th c. Liu Chih 劉秩 used it in his *Cheng tien* 政典 (see *Tung tien* 通典 [Shanghai: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1935, vol. 1, pp. 96-97]); and in the early-9th c. it was used by Liu Tsung-yüan 柳從原, "Tzu-jen chuan 梓人傳" ("The Master Builder"); *Liu Ho-tung chi* 柳河東集 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1960) 17, pp. 308-11. The structure of buildings was also used as a political metaphor. In pre-T'ang times "pillars of the state" (*kuo-chu* 國柱) and "cross-beams of the state" (*kuo-liang* 國梁) were terms used for particularly influential groups of great clans; *kuo-chu* remained a part of various honorific titles in T'ang times.

⁶⁸ *WYH* notes a variant that replaces 君好仁人必從之 with 君有所好民必從之. If the latter is adopted, the meaning would be: "If there is something the prince has loved, the people have surely followed him."

splendid terraces and pavilions, men skilled in exotic craftsmanship will certainly come [to serve him]; if he devotes all his spirits to the hunt, men skilled in horsemanship will gather around him from afar. If he keeps his mind on the music of pipes and strings, the music of Cheng 鄭 and Wei 衛 (both renowned as sensual and decadent) will be presented to him in abundance; if within his heart he cherishes powder and adornment, beautiful women from Chao 趙 and Yen 燕 will then come to him. But if he blocks the path for direct and straight speaking, those who act loyally toward him will be few, while if he opens the road for fawning flattery, those who will become obsequious and false will be many.

The ancients said: "The ruler is like a vessel; the people are like water. Whether they are square or round depends upon the vessel, not upon the water itself." Speaking on the basis of this, it is sufficient to serve as an everlasting warning. Jade that is uncut and unpolished does not form a vessel. Men who have not been taught do not understand the way. Therefore Confucius took the Viscount of T'an 鄭子 as his master; King Wen studied with Kuo Shu 號叔. If even saints such as these still needed to [seek mentors] in this way, how much more is it necessary for ordinary men! The good ruler looks out for worthy sages like a farmer hoping for a good harvest; a wise sovereign seeks out men of talent like drought-stricken sprouts longing for the rain. A disorderly monarch hates those who excel himself as though they were his enemies, but looks on men of petty worth as though they were his own sons, and cherishes them in his innermost heart. When will he suddenly forget them?

Wang Mang 王莽 feigned to practice the way of humanity and righteousness. His regime had a beginning but came to nothing. Sun Hao 孫皓,⁶⁹ out of expedience, promulgated gracious and benevolent customs: he made a start but never achieved his goal. These two rulers were like boats held together by glue afloat among the great waves: their destruction was not far off. They were like broken down nags set to gallop a thousand *li*, too weary ever to arrive. The ancients said "A pint cannot fill a bushel measure; men of small knowledge cannot make plans for great events. Adroit falsehood is not as good as clumsy sincerity." This is true and not mistaken. There have been brilliant rulers and there have been ignorant rulers. [Han] Kao-tsu rearranged his dress [out of respect] for

⁶⁹ Sun Hao (242-84) was the fourth emperor of the southern state of Wu during the Three Kingdoms period, reigning from 264 to 280, when he was deposed. His posthumous temple name is Yüan-tsung.

master Li 酈生.⁷⁰ But Pi-kan 比干 had his heart torn out by the tyrant Hsin Chou.⁷¹ T'ang [the founder of Yin] placed his total confidence in I Yin 伊尹.⁷² But Lung-feng 龍逢 was executed by Chieh of Hsia.⁷³ Chuang, King of Ch'u 楚庄王, in his leisure repented [of his former misdeeds].⁷⁴ The Marquis Wu 武侯 suspended his court, and all his courtiers had happy expressions.⁷⁵

Ignorant rulers cling tight to their own shortcomings, and thus perpetuate their stupidity. Enlightened rulers ponder upon their own shortcomings and thus improve their good qualities. If we examine [Han] Kao-tsu and T'ang of Yin, we should look up to their virtuous conduct, and liken it to the natural changes of *yin* and *yang*. Gatherings were held at

⁷⁰ Li Sheng, "Master Li," refers to Li I-chi 李食其; *Shih chi* 97, pp. 2691-96. The strange reading of his personal name is given in note 1, p. 2691. His biography is translated in Burton Watson *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1961; hereafter, *SC/Watson*) 1, pp. 269-75. Soon after the fall of Ch'in, Master Li, an elderly local scholar in Kao-yang, near Ch'en-liu, called upon Liu Pang (later Han Kao-tsu), then the governor of P'ei who had invaded his district. The governor, who had no time for Confucian scholars, received him sprawled on a couch with two serving girls washing his feet. When he came in Li I-chi did not prostrate himself, but bluntly asked him whether he was on the side of Ch'in or of the rebellious nobles. Kao-tsu called him a stupid pedant, and assured him that of course he was not going to assist the Ch'in. Master Li then said "If you really plan to raise a band of followers and raise a righteous army to punish the Ch'in, it is hardly proper for you to receive your elder sprawled about in this way." With this the governor rose, straightened his clothes and apologized, placed him in the seat of honor and listened to his views strategy. Master Li later supported the Han cause.

⁷¹ See *Shih chi* 3, p. 108, and n. 19, above.

⁷² On I Yin, see *Shih chi* 3, pp. 93-99; *SC/Chavannes* 1, pp. 177-89; *SC/Nienh.* 1, pp. 42-46. After T'ang's death, I-yin continued to be a powerful influence on his successor kings.

⁷³ Lung-feng, or Kuan 關 Lung-feng, was a sage counsellor in the time of Chieh, last emperor of Hsia. See *Hsin hsü* 新序 (KHCPTS edn., Taipei, 1968) 7 ("Chieh shih 節士"), p. 102. "Chieh made a pool of wine large enough to float a boat, and a hill of wine lees high enough to see for seven *li*. At a single stroke of the drum 3,000 persons would drink from it like cattle. Kuan Lung-feng presented counsel saying, 'One who is the lord of men should in person practice the rites and righteousness, care for his people and be economical with wealth, and then the state will be at peace, and he himself will live to old age. Now my lord uses wealth as though it is inexhaustible, employs men as if he fears that they cannot be worked to death. If [my lord] does not change, heaven-sent calamities will surely befall, and he will certainly suffer punishment. You ought to reform your ways.' He stood where he was and would not leave the court. Chieh then seized and imprisoned him." After he had been killed, a gold plate emerged from the earth in the courtyard where he had stood.

⁷⁴ This refers to the story of king Chuang of Ch'u 楚莊王, who came to the throne in 614 BC. For the first three years of his reign he devoted himself entirely to sensual pleasures and music, never issued a single command; and announced that any one who dared remonstrate against his conduct would be killed without hope of pardon. Later Wu Chü 伍舉 and Su Ts'ung 蘇從 braved death to make forceful remonstrances, and in the end king Chuang renounced his life of excess and devoted himself to government affairs, giving employment to both Wu Chü and Su Ts'ung, and the people of his country were extremely happy; *Shih chi* 40, p. 1700; *SC/Chavannes* 4, pp. 350-51.

⁷⁵ This refers to an anecdote concerning king Chuang of Ch'u in *Hsin hsü* 1, p. 5.

the four seasons, the laws and regulations were equitable, the multitudes of the people were joyful, and then the unicorn [appeared to] manifest its propitious omen.⁷⁶ Were not Han [Kao]-tsu and T'ang of Yin therefore of a kind with the auspicious unicorn?

If on the other hand we examine Chieh of Hsia and Hsin [Chou] of Shang, we have to sigh at the extremity of their perverse and evil behavior: it was as if the ordained occurrences of the seasons ceased to take place, or as if cold and heat had lost their proper order of succession. Ferocious beasts recklessly perpetrated their evil; plagues of insect pests produced catastrophes. Were not Chieh of Hsia and Chou of Shang of the same company as ferocious beasts?

Looking at the question through these examples, might they not have been simply the ordained workings of the Heavenly Way?⁷⁷ Yet, even though we may say, "These were just the seasons of Heaven," these events were nevertheless also [influenced by] the doings of men. In the time of T'ang the Perfected (Ch'eng T'ang 成湯) there were seven years of drought. He had gourds carved to be used as vessels for sacrificial offerings (symbolic gestures of frugality and humility), and rain then fell over an area of a thousand *li*. In the reign of T'ai Wu (of Shang)⁷⁸ magic mulberries and auspicious grain sprouted in the court. The king was stricken with awe, and cultivated his own virtue. Eventually this caused [envoys] from sixteen states to come [to his court to offer their fealty] through multiple interpretation. Were these events not brought about by the actions of men?

Some say that being a ruler is difficult. Others say it is easy. The ruler occupies the position of supreme honor, holds the power of reward and punishment in his hands. He can use men's talents, and use men's strength. How can anything he undertakes fail to be brought to completion? How can he not get anything he seeks? [Simply expressed like] this,

⁷⁶ The appearance of a unicorn *ch'ü-lin* 麒麟 was an auspicious omen, associated with the presence of a humane ruler. The capture of a unicorn in Lu, in the time of Confucius, is the final event recorded by him in the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. See also the entry in *Ch'u hsüeh chi* 29, pp. 699-700.

⁷⁷ Following *CTW's* 豈非天道之數. *WYTH* reads: 豈非大道之類, which would mean, "Are they not of a kind with the great Way?"

⁷⁸ T'ai Wu 太戊, sometimes read Ta-mou or T'ai-mou, succeeded to the Shang throne following Yung-chi 雍己, under whom Shang authority had gone into a decline and had lost the fealty of many of its feudal lords. T'ai-wu, with the aid of ministers Wu Hsien 巫咸 and I Chih 伊陟 (son of I Yin), is said to have cultivated his own virtue and restored the Shang government. His state grew prosperous, and the feudal lords returned to its overlordship; *Shih chi* 3, p. 100; *SC/Chavannes* 1, p. 190; *SC/Nienh.* 1, p. 46.

his task is truly easy, but [if we proceed] to explain it, then his task is truly difficult. Why is this? If he slights or offends against Heaven and Earth the multitude of spirits will manifest their baleful omens; if he disregards or shows disrespect towards the deities and spirits, tempests and rain will occur in response to his violence. For this reason emperor Ti-i (of the Shang) experienced the disasters of earthquake and thunder;⁷⁹ Chou of Yin ended by being burned to death in the Fei-sha.⁸⁰

If a king constructs many ornamental pools and lookout towers, and seeks strange rarities from distant regions, his people cannot work their lands; their womenfolk cannot rear silkworms and weave. The fields lie desolate, the [people's] livelihoods are ruined, and the multitudes decline and are completely exhausted. Yet such kings observe their people's hunger and cold, but feel no pity for them; they gaze on their bitter toil, but are not moved for them. The lord who forces his people to endure suffering is not a ruler capable of governing his people well.

If the ruler lightens taxes and reduces corvée duties, the people's families will be well provided for. Above, there will be no exactions based upon harsh [violent] laws; below, there will be the chanting of songs of praise. By curbing his own desires such a prince will bring joy to all the people within the Four Seas. A prince who is anxious about his state is a ruler who can make his people joyful. This is why [being a prince] is to be considered difficult.

Moreover, the Way of employing men also⁸¹ is not yet easy. Those he himself calls worthies are not necessarily entirely good. Those whom the multitude calls calamitous are not necessarily totally bad. Yet if one knows of somebody's ability and does not select him [for office] then his talent is lost to you. If one knows of somebody's being evil and does not reject him, this may be the cause of calamity. And in addition each person's talents have some strengths and some weaknesses: they are certain-

ly not all of a uniform quality [throughout].

Thus Kung Cho was excellent as the comptroller⁸² of a large state,⁸³ while Tzu-ch'an was skilled as chancellor of a small state.⁸⁴ The marquis of Chiang was simple and slow of speech, yet eventually brought security to the [Han royal] clan of Liu.⁸⁵ The eloquent foreman [of the tiger enclosure] was still not fit to be employed as prefect of the whole Shang-lin Park 上林令.⁸⁶

Only if [the ruler] rejects the deficient and chooses the superior will government reach a state of perfection. Now men have hard and soft dispositions – each is different. They have straight and crooked natures – they are not all the same. In the headlong gallop of ancient and modern times, noble and base have not been differentiated. Is the filial piety of the superior [ruler] to be the same as that of his inferiors? The superior rectifies the state, and brings peace to the family: he sets his intention on preserving reverence and ritual. The inferior meets others with a pleasing expression, and only preserves respect and support [for his parents]. The

⁷⁹ "Lao 老," chief officer, comptroller of a great clan; *WYH* 360, p. 4a, notes a variant: "ch'em" 臣, subject, or servant.

⁸⁰ This refers to *Lun yü* 論語 14/12-13; see James Legge, *Confucian Analects, The Great Learning, Doctrine of the Mean*, vol. 1 of *The Chinese Classics* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong U.P., 1961; hereafter, *Analects/Legge*), p. 279; and Arthur Waley, *The Analects of Confucius* (London: Geo. Allen and Unwin, 1938; hereafter, *Analects/Waley*), pp. 182-83. [Meng] Kung Ch'o 孟公綽, was the influential head of the important Meng clan in Lu. However Confucius felt that he had reached the highest position of which he was capable. "Meng Kung Ch'o would have done well enough as Comptroller of the Chao or Wei families; but he was not fit to be a state minister (*ta-fu*) even in T'eng or Hsüeh." The Chao 趙 and Wei 魏 were great noble families in Chin 晉, the equivalents of the Meng in Lu. But they were not at that time independent states, as they later became. T'eng 滕 and Hsüeh 薛 were, on the other hand tiny, but independent, states. T'ai-tung has got his historical facts slightly wrong, although Kung Ch'o was truly an example of a man who was adequate in a lesser post, but unsuitable for anything with greater responsibilities.

⁸¹ Tzu Ch'an 子產 (d. 522 BC) was the minister heading the administration of the state of Cheng during the reigns of dukes Chien 簡, Ting 定, Hsien 獻, and Sheng 聲. He preserved his state when it was caught between two aggressive neighbors, Chin and Ch'u. Confucius had the highest opinion of him. See *Lun yü* 3/15; *Analects/Waley*, pp. 110-11, translates: "Of Tzu-ch'an the Master said that in him were to be found four of the virtues that belong to the Way of the true gentleman. In his private conduct he was courteous, in serving his master he was punctilious, in providing for the needs of the people he gave them even more than their due; in exacting service from the people he was just."

⁸² The marquis of Chiang 絳侯 was Chou Po 周勃, one of Han Kao-tsu's earliest followers, who with Ch'en P'ing was largely responsible for the enthronement of Wen-ti and the restoration of Han power after the demise of empress Lü.

⁸³ This refers to an anecdote in the biographies of Chang Shih-chih 張釋之 in Pan Ku 班固, *Han shu* 漢書 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1962) 50, pp. 2307-8, and *Shih chi* 102, pp. 2752. With Chang Shih-chih in attendance, emperor Wen-ti once visited the Shang-lin Park and climbed up to the tiger pens and asked the park's superintendent (*Shang-lin wei* 上林尉) ten or more questions

⁷⁹ Ti-i 帝乙 was the penultimate Shang king, the father of Chou (Hsin). The emperor to whom T'ai-tung refers here, however, was not Ti-i but Wu-i 武乙, who grossly offended Heaven and the gods. When he went hunting he was struck by lightning and killed; *Shih chi* 3, p. 104; *SC/Chavannes* 1, p. 198; *SC/Nienh.* 1, p. 49.

⁸⁰ This must refer to the manner of his death after his defeat at Mu-yeh, at the hand of the army of king Wu 武王 of Chou. After the battle he fled to the Lu-t'ai 鹿臺 (the treasury) in his palace, where he put on his jade burial suit and jumped into a burning building and was burned to death – a most satisfactory retribution for his favored form of cruel execution. There was also a Sha-ch'iu 沙丘 in his palace; this was the site of his wine-filled pool, and of his all-night orgies, and it was also where he kept wild animals and flying birds. But I cannot explain Fei-sha except possibly as the bird enclosure of the Sha-ch'iu section of the palace.

⁸¹ Variant: "still."

filial respect of Shun of Yü did not come about because of what kind parents tolerated.⁸⁷ The humanity of Tseng Shen was not considered good by Hsüan-ni (that is, Confucius).⁸⁸ Confucius said, "If a son simply follows the laws, he cannot succeed in becoming truly filial. If a subject simply obeys instructions, he cannot succeed in becoming truly loyal."⁸⁹ Such examples as these cannot but be studied carefully.

One who offended his king's ears in order to cleave fast to the Way, and executed his own "dear brother"⁹⁰ in order to bring peace to the kingdom, such was the Duke of Chou 周公.⁹¹ One who obeyed the heart's desires of his prince in order to ensure his own ease, and killed his own child to follow his lord's personal feelings, such was I Ya.⁹² One who

about the register of birds and animals. The superintendent looked to the right and left, but was utterly unable to answer. From the side, the foreman (*se-fu* 衛夫) of the tiger pens answered all of the emperor's questions about the list instead of the superintendent, eager to show off his ability. Wen-ti said "This is how an official ought to do it! The superintendent isn't up to his job!" He then ordered Chang Shih-chih to have the foreman appointed prefect (*ling* 令) of the Shang-lin Park. Chang persuaded him not to do so, pointing out the unwisdom of appointing men just because of their ability to chatter glibly.

⁸⁷ On Shun's parents, see *Book of Documents*, sect. 12, "Yao-tien"; trans. James Legge, *The Shoo King or Book of Historical Documents*, vol. 3 of *The Chinese Classics*; hereafter, *Documents/Legge*, p. 26; Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Documents* (Göteborg: Elanders, 1950; hereafter, *Documents/Karlgren*), p. 4. See also the summary given in *Ch'u hsüeh chi* 9, p. 198.

⁸⁸ T'ai-tung seems to have been strongly affected both by this story and by the account of Shun's filial conduct towards his unloving and violent parents. In 640 he quoted both in an exchange with K'ung Ying-ta: "We have heard that the *Chia yü* says, 'Tseng Hsi 曾皙 sent Tseng Shen 曾參 to hoe his melon patch. Ts'an by mistake cut through the stalks. Hsi was furious, and took hold of a heavy stick to beat his back. But he slipped to the ground, and his hand was numbed before it revived. Confucius heard about this and announced to his disciples, 'If Shen comes, don't let him in.' When Tseng tzu 曾子 (i.e. Tseng Shen) requested to come in, Confucius said, 'When Shun served his parents, he was always at their side. They wanted to kill him, but couldn't manage to do so. If they hit him with a small rod he accepted it, but if they used a big stick he ran away. Now Shen in serving his father gave himself up to await his violent anger, and thus entrapped his father into unrighteous behaviour. Nothing is less filial than this!'" See *CTS* 24, pp. 618-19.

⁸⁹ 孔子曰子從令者不得為孝，臣苟順者不得為忠 I am unable to identify the source of this quotation.

⁹⁰ *K'ung-huai* 孔懷, "those suckled at the breast together," refers to *Book of Odes* 124. 4. It became a common expression for brothers.

⁹¹ This refers to events following the Chou conquest of Shang, and the death seven years later of king Wu. After the conquest the old Shang territories in the east remained under a puppet Shang king, with three of king Wu's brothers in control of them, while another brother, the duke of Chou acted as regent for the child-king king Ch'eng. The Shang attempted a rebellion aimed at a restoration, and was joined by three of king Wu's brothers. The rebellion was crushed by the duke of Chou, who executed one brother, the duke of Kuan 管, and drove another, the duke of Ts'ai 蔡 into exile. The analogy with T'ai-tung's own recent action in killing his own brothers "for the sake of the dynasty" is obvious.

⁹² I-ya 易牙, also written as Ti-ya 狄牙, was a skilled cook who became a palace favorite of duke Huan of Ch'i 齊桓公 and cooked his own child as a delicacy for his master. After the death

threw away his own life to preserve⁹³ his lord's body, such a man was Chi Hsin.⁹⁴ One who presumed upon his position of planning policy for the country in order to pay off a personal vendetta, such a man was Yüan Ang.⁹⁵ One who thrust himself forward and held fast to his integrity, who stood alone and upright and destroyed himself [for his principles], such a man was Ch'ü Yüan.⁹⁶ One who outwardly manifested the utmost of harmony and friendliness, yet within cherished ambitions like seething hot water or fire, such a man was chancellor P'i (of Wu).⁹⁷ The ways of loyalty and of sycophancy, examined through these examples, provide an "everlasting mirror."⁹⁸

Po Ch'i pacified Chao on behalf of Ch'in and was then murdered by [his sovereign] King Chao.⁹⁹ [Chou] Ya-fu settled the rebellions of the Seven Feudatory Kings and yet in the end was executed by Emperor Ching-ti.¹⁰⁰ Wen Chung devised the strategy to destroy Wu, yet by an

of Kuan Chung. I-ya achieved great influence, and following duke Huan's death reduced the state to disorder.

⁹³ Following WYTH's variant 存君, rather than 安君, "ensure his lord's safety".

⁹⁴ Chi Hsin 紀信 was one of Liu Pang's commanders during the war with Hsiang Yü 項羽 following the downfall of Ch'in. Hsiang Yü had besieged Liu Pang in Ying-yang 滎陽, food was exhausted, and events had reached crisis point. Chi Hsin devised a stratagem by which, after arranging a sortie by 2,000 palace women dressed in armor, he pretended to be Liu Pang, mounted the royal chariot, and signaled that he was coming out of the city to surrender, meanwhile allowing Liu Pang to escape with a small detachment of horsemen. He himself was taken to Hsiang Yü, who had him burned alive when he realized how he had been duped; *Shih chi* 7, p. 326, *SC/Chavannes* 2, pp. 304-5.

⁹⁵ Biogs. of Yüan Ang 袁 (爰) 盎 are in *Shih chi* 101, pp. 2737-45, and *Han-shu* 49, pp. 2267-75. The incident referred to here is presumably his betrayal of long-time colleague and rival Chao Ts'o and recommending his execution to emperor Ching-ti in the hope of staving off the rebellion of the seven princes.

⁹⁶ Ch'ü Yüan 屈原 (340-278 BC) is the famous poet who drowned himself in frustration with the politics of the government of his state of Ch'u; biog. *Shih chi* 84, pp. 2481-91.

⁹⁷ "Chancellor P'i" 宰嚭 refers to Po P'i 伯嚭, a great official who served in Wu as chancellor under king Fu-ch'a 夫差 (r. 496-473 BC). During Wu's war with Yüeh, he accepted bribes from the Yueh king Kou-chien 勾踐 (r. 496-465 BC), and after Yüeh had suffered serious defeats, helped negotiate a peace which ensured Yüeh's survival. He was also instrumental in the death of Wu Tzu-Hsi 伍子胥, whom he slandered to the king.

⁹⁸ 永鑒; WYTH notes variant: *yung ching* 永鏡.

⁹⁹ Po Ch'i 白起 was a successful general under king Chao of Ch'in; he was enfeoffed as lord of Wu-an 武安君. Later he quarrelled with Fan Chü 范雎, was demoted, and committed suicide; *Shih chi* 73, p. 2331.

¹⁰⁰ Chou Ya-fu 周亞夫, marquis of T'iao 條侯, was a great general under Han Wen-ti who commanded an army during the Hsiung-nu invasion of 158 BC, and later became commander of Wen-ti's palace armies. On his deathbed Wen-ti recommended him to his successor Ching-ti as the most reliable of his generals. In 154 BC, when the kings of Wu and Ch'u rebelled, Chou was made grand commandant and succeeded in putting down the rebel kingdoms, and enjoyed high favor, later being made chancellor. However, during the suppression of the rebellions he had

upset of fortune was executed by the King of Yüeh.¹⁰¹ Wu Hsiu exhausted his strength on account of his country, and yet in the end met with the disaster of being presented with a sword [with which to commit suicide].¹⁰² All these cases were faults committed by the rulers, not crimes committed by their subjects.

When we come to other cases like Chao Kao, Han Hsin, Tātōed Pu, and Ch'en Hsi,¹⁰³ then they themselves provided the cause of their troubles; these were not cases of their prince imposing excessive punishments on them.

[Han] Kao-tsu thus failed to preserve the abilities of his meritorious

disobeyed orders to go to the relief of the king of Liang, who joined with the empress-dowager in slandering him to the emperor. He soon fell from power. He opposed the granting of the title of king to the empress-dowager's brother Wang Hsin, and titles of marquis to some surrendered Hsiung-nu leaders. In 147 bc the emperor turned against him. He was stripped of his post as chancellor, and thrown in jail and severely interrogated on the pretext of his involvement in a trumped up case against his son. He starved himself to death in prison; *Shih chi* 57, pp. 2078-80; *SC/Watson* 1, pp. 433-40.

¹⁰¹ Wen Chung 文種 was one of the chief counsellors of Kou-chien, king of Yüeh during his ultimately successful struggle with Fu-ch'a of Wu in the early-5th c. bc. Strictly speaking he was not "executed." After his victory was assured, Kou-chien presented Wen Chung with a sword and the message: "You have presented me with seven (or nine) stratagems for defeating Wu. By using only three of them I have defeated Wu. Now go and expound the others to my predecessors in the underworld!" Wen Chung then committed suicide; *Shih chi* 41, pp. 1740-47; *SC/Chavannes* 4, pp. 422-32.

¹⁰² Wu Tzu-hsiu was Wen Chung's opposite number in the state of Wu, where he was adviser to king Fu-ch'a during the struggle with Yüeh. He tried unsuccessfully to prevent Fu-ch'a, who had temporarily defeated Yüeh, from being distracted from his real adversary by his ambitions to advance north against Ch'i in Shantung. Fu-ch'a forced him to commit suicide; *Shih chi* 66, pp. 2171-81, trans. R. C. Rudolph, "The Shih Chi Biography of Wu Tzu-hsiu," *OE* 9 (1962) pt. 1, pp. 106-20.

¹⁰³ These make a strange grouping, although all came from roughly the same period and were all executed for treachery. Chao Kao 趙高 was Ch'in Shih-huang ti's eunuch attendant. When the emperor died on a tour away from his capital in 210 bc, he conspired with the chancellor Li Ssu to conceal the death and prevent the emperor's eldest son from succeeding him as had been planned. The conspirators wanted to enthrone as Erb shih Huang-ti the prince Hu-hai, whom they could easily manipulate. Under the new emperor, Chao Kao first encouraged the emperor to introduce ever-more draconian laws, then engineered the downfall and execution of Li Ssu, and finally late in 207 bc drove the emperor to suicide, replacing him with a young prince Tzu-yung. The latter feigned illness and then stabbed Chao Kao to death (or perhaps had him killed by his servitors), and subsequently submitted to the rebel general Liu Pang, later to be the founder of the Han. See the account by Derk Bodde, in Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe, eds., *Cambridge History of China*, volume 1: *The Ch'in and Han Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1986), pp. 81-85; see *Shih chi* 6, pp. 265-76.

The other three were all rebel commanders during the wars between Liu Pang and Hsiang Yü following the fall of Ch'in. After peace was established each was ennobled, given command of a vital province, but finally rebelled. Han Hsin 韓信 was made king of Han 韓 and controlled much of Ho-nan. In 201 bc he was transferred to T'ai-yüan to guard the northern frontier against the Hsiung-nu. But within months, having been besieged by the Hsiung-nu, Han Hsin surren-

helpers. But Kuang-wu ti succeeded in giving posts to the most excellent of his generals. When the ministers devote themselves to making peaceful the solid foundation of the Altars of Soil and Grain of their ruler,¹⁰⁴ while the rulers occupy [control] the places of the greatest danger for their subjects; this must be the true way for them to requite one another.

He who acts as ruler of the empire occupies the position of superior to the myriad people. How can this be easy? If he turns his back on the Way and offends against the Rites, he not only injures himself, but makes himself a laughing stock for the sages [wise men]. If he humbles himself but acts forcefully, he can truly be a superior man (*chün-tzu*), but will be derided by ordinary men [*yung-tu*]. If he advances men in office beyond their appropriate rank, their fellows will certainly be profoundly resentful. If he is partial in whom he speaks to, the multitude will look on him as crooked and self-interested. If he employs the worthy and good, then they will claim he has found them by lucky chance. If he deposes his authority upon commonplace men, then they will say he is ignorant and stupid. If he speaks too much then they call him too prolix; if his words are few then they will criticize him for having but a slender understanding of the Way. If he abandons himself to his passions and gives way to anger then the court and countryside alike will shudder with fear. If he restrains his emotions and acts generously and kindly, then the laws and regulations will not be put into effect. If the people are joyful then the officials will suffer hardship; if the officials are happy then the people will be hard-pressed.

Within the Four Seas, nothing is not the King's territory. But the distant wilds are as twigs and leaves, while the Royal Domain is the root

dered and allied himself with them. That winter Kao-tsu led an expedition against him in person, but failed to take him. Finally early in 196 bc the Han general Ch'ai Wu 柴武 defeated him in battle and executed him; *Shih chi* 93, pp. 2631-35; *SC/Watson* 1, pp. 233-37; *Han shu* 34, pp. 1861-78.

Ch'ing Pu, "tattooed Pu" 黥布, whose real name was Ying Pu 英布, was an outlaw leader in the Yangtze region who eventually became a general under Hsiang Yü. Later he defected to the Han, and in 203 bc was appointed king of Huai-nan. In 196 bc, frightened to see how other kings like himself were gradually being eliminated, he rebelled. Kao-tsu led an army against him in person and defeated his forces. Ch'ing Pu fled to Chiang-nan, where he was killed by the local people; *Shih chi* 91, pp. 2597-608; *SC/Watson* 1, pp. 196-207; *Han shu* 34, pp. 1881-90.

Ch'en Hsi 陳豨 was ennobled and made chancellor of Tai with command of the frontier troops in Tai after Kao-tsu's abortive punitive expedition against Han Hsin, who had defected to the Hsiung-nu. In 197 bc he himself rebelled. Han forces attacked the cities in the region in 197-96 bc, and Ch'en Hsi's army was destroyed in the winter of 196 bc. Ch'en escaped but was killed a year later; *Shih chi* 93, pp. 2639-42; *SC/Watson* 1, pp. 241-44; *Han shu* 34, pp. 1891-93.

¹⁰⁴ WYTH reads 安君社稷之固, and notes a variant reading, 國固.

and trunk [of the nation]. The ancients said "If your skin is not preserved, how will you support the hair?"¹⁰⁵ One should make the trunk firm and the roots deep and depute control of them to the Inner Chancellor: thus I Yin and Fu Shui¹⁰⁶ were men such as the people hoped to encounter. But if one has to subdue icebound frontiers, and maintain the borders shrouded in flying snow, then men such as Wei Shang¹⁰⁷ or Li Mu¹⁰⁸ are rarely encountered in our present times. If you dispatch men to pacify [relieve] these problems far away, then out of regard for [the sufferers] they will not be able to bear to impose a solution. If, however, out of pity you do not send anyone [to settle the problem], then the twigs and leaves will fall and cannot be preserved. Between these two proper aims, where should you place your heart? Thus "One who is flourishing at dawn may be filled with anxiety by evening, and you must not forget this fact." If it is like this even for the ruler, how much more is it so for his subjects.

The *Book of Changes* says, "writing cannot express everything their authors would say: words cannot express all their thoughts."¹⁰⁹ Now We present this summary in rough outline just to set forth what preoccupies our heart. The ancient proverb says, "Those who have toiled must sing about their affairs!" We are not aimlessly fussing about with brush and

¹⁰⁵ This refers to *Tso chuan*, Hsi 14; trans. James Legge, *The Ch'un T's'w, with Tso Chuen*, vol. 5 of *The Chinese Classics* (hereafter, *Tso/Legge*), p. 162; and Séraphim Couvreur, *Tch'ouen-t's'ou et Tso tchouan: La chronique de la principauté de Lou* (Ho kien fu: Mission Catholique, 1914; rpt. Paris: Cathasia, 1951; hereafter, *Tso/Couv.*) 1, p. 291. Ch'in was suffering a famine, and requested permission to buy grain in Chin. The Chin officials refused, in spite of the fact that Ch'in had provided grain to Chin during a famine in the previous year. Ch'ing Cheng 慶鄭 objected strongly on moral grounds: "To make such a return for Ch'in's favor to us shows a want of affection. To gain through the calamity of others shows a lack of humanity. To be greedy is inauspicious. To cherish anger against a neighbor is unrighteous. When one has lost these four virtues at once, how shall we preserve our state?" Kuo I replied, "When you have already lost your skin, where can you place the hair!" The implication being that Chin has already gravely offended Ch'in, which would have its revenge whatever Chin decided to do.

¹⁰⁶ Fu Shui 傅說, also read Fu Yüeh, was a sage-counsellor of the Shang king Wu-t'ing 武丁. The "Yüeh ming 說命" chapter of the *Book of Documents* (*Documents/Legge*, p. 250), relates how Wu-t'ing first saw his future sage-counsellor in a dream. As he was not to be found among his courtiers, he had a picture drawn of the man about whom he had dreamed and sent it throughout his domains. He was eventually found to be a convict working as a pisé builder in Fu 傅. He was brought to court, and after questioning him Wu-t'ing appointed him as chief minister. See also *Shih chi* 3A, p. 102; *SC/Chavannes* 1, p. 195; *SC/Nienh.* 1, p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Wei Shang 魏尚 was the governor of Yün-chung on the northern border in the reign of Han Wen-ti who was extremely successful in fighting the Hsiung-nu and maintaining the quality of his forces; see *Shih chi* 102, pp. 2758-59.

¹⁰⁸ Li Mu 李牧 was a general of Chao 趙 at the end of the Warring States period, and for a long period was in charge of the state's northern frontier. He was greatly successful, and a very resourceful strategist, loved by his troops. He repeatedly defeated the Eastern Hu 東胡, the Forest Hu 林胡, and the Hsiung-nu, and also fought against the state of Yen 燕; *Shih chi* 81, pp. 2449-51; and 102, pp. 2757-58.

¹⁰⁹ This is a quotation from *I-ching* 易經, sect. "Hsi-tz'u chuan A," trans. James Legge, *The Yi King* (Oxford: Oxford U.P., 1887; hereafter, *Changes/Legge*), pp. 376-77: "The written characters are not the full exponent of speech, and speech is not the full expression of ideas; it is possible

ink in order to show off our elegant writing. We study only for ourself, and have somehow written down our deepest concerns. We hope to have it seen afar by the many worthies, and that they will not treat it as an object of derision."

PLAN FOR AN EMPEROR (TI-FAN)

The Composition of the Ti-fan

The second of T'ai-tsung's major writings on the role of sovereign, the *Plan for an Emperor* (Ti-fan 帝範), was written at the very end of his reign in 647 or 648,¹¹⁰ twenty years after *The Golden Mirror* 金鏡. It was a summary of his views on rulership destined for the guidance of the currently designated heir-apparent, his ninth son, Li Chih 李治 (b. 628).

T'ai-tsung's original heir-apparent, his oldest son Li Ch'eng-ch'ien 李承乾 had been stripped of his position and banished on April 24, 643, after a period of public scandal over his unconventional behavior and the palace intrigues that had culminated late in 642 in his involvement in an inept and abortive plot to seize the throne.¹¹¹ The new imperial heir had been installed on April 30, 643,¹¹² after a bitter dispute in which the emperor had at first given his support to another candidate, his talented fourth son Li T'ai, the prince of Wei 魏王李泰. He had, however, been opposed by his chief advisers, especially Chang-sun Wu-chi 長孫無忌, who recommended Li Chih, then

then to discover the ideas of the sages"; and by John Lynn, *The Classic of Changes: A New Translation of the I-ching as Interpreted by Wang Bi* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1994; hereafter, *Changes/Lynn*), p. 67: "The Master said, 'Writing does not exhaust words, and words do not exhaust ideas. If this is so, does this mean that the ideas of the sages cannot be discerned?'"

¹¹⁰ *THY* 36, p. 656; *TCTC* 198, p. 6251.

¹¹¹ The plot also involved a disaffected younger brother of the emperor, Li Yüan-ch'ang, the prince of Han 漢王李元昌; Tu Ho 杜荷, son of the emperor's adviser Tu Ju-hui 杜如晦, and husband of T'ai-tsung's daughter the princess Ch'eng-yang 城陽公主; and a disgruntled general Hou Chün-chi 侯君集. The plot accidentally came to light before the conspirators could act. The prince of Han was ordered to commit suicide, the others were executed; *CTS* 64, pp. 2425-26; 76, pp. 2648-49; also *TCTC* 196, pp. 6189-97. For the edict removing the heir-apparent from his position and reducing him to the status of a commoner, see *TFYK* 257, p. 2a; *TCLC* 31, p. 122.

On the 4th mo., 11th day, T'ai-tsung went in person to the Great Ancestral Temple (T'ai-miao 太廟) to ask the ancestors' pardon for Ch'eng-ch'ien's crimes; *TFYK* 30, p. 3b. For full accounts of the succession problem, see *TCTC* 197, pp. 6195-97; *TFYK* 257, pp. 2a-4b; *TFYK* 258, pp. 12a-b, 18a-b; *THY* 4, pp. 39-41. Li Ch'eng-ch'ien was exiled to Ch'ien-chou 黔州 (in modern Kweichow), where he died January 4, 645; *CTS* 3, p. 57.

¹¹² *CTS* 3, p. 55; *TCTC* 197, p. 6196. For the edict appointing him, see *TFYK* 257, p. 2a; *WYH* 443, p. 7b; *TCLC* 27, p. 93; *CTW* 7, p. 6a. For the brevet of appointment (*ts'wen* 冊文), see *TFYK* 257, p. 2b; *THY* 1, p. 3; *WYH* 443, p. 1a; *TCLC* 28, p. 98; *CTW* 9, p. 11b. The heir's installation was marked by a General Act of Grace and a three-day period of public celebration (*p'u* 醺). The text of the Act of Grace is preserved partially in *TFYK* 59, p. 8b; 80, p. 5a; 84, p. 7a; and in *Tang-wen chih-i* 唐文拾遺 (Taipei: Wen-hai, 1963) 1, pp. 6a-b, cited from *Wen-kuan* 文館辭林, a huge literary anthology compiled in 658 in 1,000 chapters. This book is long lost, but four chapters, including this passage, survived in Japan and were reprinted in Hayashi Hitoshi's 林衡 early-19th-c. *Isson Soshō* 佚存叢書.

prince of Chin 晉王.¹¹³

After Li Chih had been formally installed as heir-apparent, a group of the highest ranking ministers was appointed as his tutors and advisers.¹¹⁴ In addition, T'ai-tsung ordered Li Chih to attend at his side when he presided over the court, sometimes asking his views, and often praising his judgement.¹¹⁵ But the emperor still remained dubious whether the new heir had the qualities of character essential in a powerful and decisive emperor. Within months of Li Chih's installation, at the end of 643, T'ai-tsung raised the possibility of replacing him as heir with his third son, Li K'o, the prince of Wu 吳王李恪, who was older and generally well respected, but again he failed to win the support of his principal ministerial advisors for such a change.¹¹⁶

On November 18, 644, T'ai-tsung left Ch'ang-an to lead his great and ill-fated expedition to conquer Koguryō.¹¹⁷ The heir-apparent accompanied him first to Lo-yang and then as far as the border prefecture of Ting-chou 定州. Here he was left behind to conduct routine court business as temporary regent (*chien-kuo* 監國).¹¹⁸ T'ai-tsung said to the tearful prince,

¹¹³ On these events see Howard Wechsler, "T'ai-tsung (reign 626-49) the Consolidator," in Twitchett, ed., *Cambridge History of China* 3, pp. 236-39. Both Li T'ai, the prince of Wei, and Li Chih, the prince of Chin, were full brothers of Li Ch'eng-ch'ien, sons of the empress Wen-te 文德皇后, née Chang-sun 長孫氏, who was Chang-sun Wu-chi's sister. One of the most influential of T'ai-tsung's advisors, Wu-chi was anxious that the new heir to the throne should also be one of his nephews, to enable him to retain his family influence over T'ai-tsung's successor. All of the eleven other sons of T'ai-tsung were by secondary consorts.

¹¹⁴ *TCTC* 197, p. 6197; *IFYK* 708, p. 38b; *CTW* 4, p. 11a.

¹¹⁵ *CTS* 4, p. 65.

¹¹⁶ Li K'o was not T'ai-tsung's son by his deceased empress Wen-te, née Chang-sun, but by his consort née Yang 楊妃, who was a daughter of the last Sui emperor, Yang-ti; *CTS* 76, p. 2650. Because of this his candidacy was bitterly opposed by Li Chih's uncle, the deceased empress's brother Chang-sun Wu-chi, who saw Li K'o as a potential threat to his own continued influence after T'ai-tsung's death. Even after Li Chih came to the throne in 649, Chang-sun Wu-chi was bitterly jealous and resentful of Li K'o, and in 652 he had him implicated in Fang I'ai's rebellion, and executed. Li K'o's date of birth is unclear, but must have been before 620 when he was first enfeoffed as prince of Ch'ang-sha 長沙王; *CTS* 1, p. 11. He was re-enfeoffed as prince of Han 漢王 in 626, and as prince of Shu 蜀王 in 628; *HTS* 80, p. 3566. He had considerable literary and military talents, and T'ai-tsung often remarked that the prince was very like himself as a young man; *TCTC* 197, p. 6206; *CTS* 76, p. 2650 (*CTS* 76 is incorrect in dating enfeoffment as prince of Shu to 620; see editors' note referring to *CTS* 76, p. 2667).

¹¹⁷ The emperor set out from Ch'ang-an on November 18, 644, leaving Fang Hsian-ling 房玄齡 at the capital as temporary viceroy (*liu-shou* 留守); *IFYK* 78, p. 8a; *THY* 67, p. 1184; *CTS* 66, p. 2462. He arrived at Lo-yang on December 6; *CTS* 3, p. 56; *TCTC* 197, p. 6213. *CTS* dates the arrival of the emperor's train in Loyang mistakenly on the *jen-yin* day of the 11th mo., but there was no *jen-yin* day until the 2d of the 12th mo. The date *jen-shen* given by *TCTC* is correct. The emperor set out at the head of his armies from Loyang on March 14, 645, announcing that when he left Ting-chou, he would make the heir-apparent temporary regent. The army marched northwards up the western edge of the Hopei plain, through Ye-ch'eng 鄴城 to Ting-chou, a march of 1,200 *li* (about 400 miles), which was completed in 27 days, arriving on April 10. On May 24 the emperor left Ting-chou in charge of the heir-apparent and his advisors, and marched east to Yu-chou 幽州 (modern Peking).

¹¹⁸ *CTS* 3, p. 57; *IFYK* 259, pp. 4b-6a. This event is dated March 14, 645. For the edict

I am leaving you to protect the realm, aided by capable sage-ministers, hoping that this will make the whole empire aware of your excellent deportment. The essential things in governing the state are promoting the wise and retiring the unworthy, rewarding the good and punishing the evil, doing the utmost to promote the public good and avoiding self-interest. You should endeavor with all your strength to do these things. Why need you weep with sorrow!¹¹⁹

The campaign against Koguryō did not go well. The T'ang forces met staunch resistance from the powerful Koguryō armies entrenched in formidable defences and the campaign ended in failure. The T'ang army was ordered to withdraw in the fall of 645 after the early onset of cold weather and the imminent failure of supplies. During their retreat from the disastrous invasion the exhausted Chinese troops became mired down in the marshes of the Liao River valley and then had to endure a great blizzard. T'ai-tsung felt seriously ill, and had to be carried in a sedan chair. Although he soon partially recovered, he seems never again to have completely regained his health and vigor.¹²⁰

After he returned to Ch'ang-an in the spring of 646, he again appointed the heir-apparent as temporary regent and deputed the decision of state affairs to him.¹²¹ Every other day the heir-apparent would preside over the court assembly in his Eastern Palace, and then return to the main palace to attend to T'ai-tsung, who had had special apartments built for the heir to occupy next to his own sleeping quarters. Once every ten days he returned to the Eastern Palace to receive instruction from his tutors.¹²²

In an attempt to reestablish the standing of the T'ang among the border peoples after the debacle of his Korean campaign, in the autumn of 646 T'ai-tsung undertook an imperial progress to Ling-chou 靈州, the great strategic stronghold on the upper Yellow River, 500 kilometers northwest of Ch'ang-an, where he presided over a grand gathering of chieftains and envoys from the various border peoples, who were assembled to renew their submission to the T'ang court and to reassert T'ai-tsung's own position as their Supreme Heavenly Khaghan 天可汗.¹²³ Once again the heir-apparent was appointed

appointing him to the temporary regency, see *TTCCLC* 30, p. 111 (which dates it to the previous month). A regency council of five very senior officials, Kao Shih-lien 高士廉, Liu Chi 劉洎, Ma Chou 馬周, Chang Hsing-ch'eng 張行成, and Kao Chi-fu 高季輔, was appointed to assist him in controlling state affairs.

¹¹⁹ *TCTC* 197, p. 6218. ¹²⁰ *TCTC* 198, pp. 6232, 6235.

¹²¹ *TCTC* 198, p. 6235; *IFYK* 259, p. 5a; 261, p. 13a; *TTCCLC* 30, p. 111; *CTW* 8, p. 1b.

¹²² *TCTC* 198, p. 6235.

¹²³ The edict ordering the imperial progress to Ling-chou was issued in the summer; *IFYK* 991, p. 10a. The emperor left Ch'ang-an on September 25, on October 5 reached Ching-chou 涇州, and October 15 reached Ling-chou, where several thousand men from the various tribes of

temporary regent and left in charge of affairs at the capital.¹²⁴

The emperor's attempt to restore his international standing in Inner Asia seems to have been successful, for in 647 tribute bearing embassies from nineteen distant nations in the west arrived in Ch'ang-an, and T'ai-tsung ordered the construction of a string of postal relay stations into the northern desert to facilitate communications with the Turkic and Uighur tribes. At the beginning of 647 he issued orders that in the spring of 648 there was at last to be a celebration of the Feng and Shan sacrifices on T'ai-shan to celebrate the dynasty's achievements.

But this was cancelled early in the autumn of 647, ostensibly because of widespread floods in Ho-pei, but probably because of renewed military failures. A second invasion of Koguryō in 647 ended with the T'ang armies again being repelled, and in 648 T'ai-tsung was still preparing for a massive third invasion in 649, to include a large-scale sea-borne landing. This was eventually abandoned only because of his death.

T'ai-tsung's exertions in Ling-chou in the autumn of 646 led to a recurrence and aggravation of his illness after his return to Ch'ang-an.¹²⁵ In mid-647 he retired to a newly constructed summer palace in the Chung-nan mountains south of Ch'ang-an, the Ts'ui-wei kung 翠微宮. The heir-apparent and his regency council were once again left in charge of affairs at the capital until his return two months later.¹²⁶ In the winter of 647-48 the emperor grew still more seriously ill, and on December 31, 647, he decided to hold court only once every three days.¹²⁷ Some five weeks after this, on February 7, 648, in the presence of the other princes, he formally presented his *Plan for an Emperor* (*Ti-fan*) to the heir-apparent as a model for his guidance.

T'ai-tsung spent almost the whole of 648, from March 23 to December 6, away from Ch'ang-an at another recently constructed summer palace, the Yü-hua kung 玉華宮.¹²⁸ On May 9, 649, the heir-apparent was again appointed

regent and ordered to undertake the business of government at the Chin-yeh men 金液門, one of the gates of the private quarters of the Inner Palace.¹²⁹ On May 17 T'ai-tsung left Ch'ang-an to escape the summer heat, withdrawing to another of his detached palaces, the Ts'ui-wei kung in the mountains south of the capital, which had been hastily refurbished for his occupation.¹³⁰ There he died on July 10.¹³¹

The emperor's testamentary edict was read out in the presence of the heir-apparent,¹³² and the funeral observances were ordered to follow those of the Han dynasty. The heir-apparent returned to the capital July 12 and ascended the throne on the first day of the sixth lunar month July 15, at the age of twenty-one (twenty-two *sui* in Chinese style).

Before Li Chih, now a grown man of twenty-one, ascended the throne he had thus had considerable experience of being at least nominally in charge of the affairs of government, even though always under the tutelage of T'ai-tsung's senior ministers. But T'ai-tsung had been filled with misgivings about his heir-apparent to the end, and his *Plan for an Emperor* (*Ti-fan*) was written when it was clear that he himself had not much longer to live, as a personal political testament to guide his successor's conduct.¹³³ When he presented the work to the heir-apparent, he turned to the assembled princes and said; "This work provides within it [what is necessary] to cultivate yourself and to govern the state. If I should die one of these days soon, there will be nothing more to be said."¹³⁴

The postscript to the *Plan for an Emperor*, unlike the more formal sections

in 646, but this date is incorrect. It was a modest country residence, formerly the mansion of a local man, in the Feng-huang valley 鳳凰 in the hills of I-chün county in Fang chou 坊州, well to the north of Ch'ang-an.

¹²⁹ *IFYK* 10, p. 16b, gives the date as May 10, as does *CTS* 3, p. 62, and *TCTC* 199, p. 6266, which say that the heir-apparent was to preside over government business at the Chin-ye Gate. *IFYK* 259, p. 6a, gives the date incorrectly.

¹³⁰ *IFYK* 14, p. 1b. Perhaps in anticipation of the emperor's death, a separate residence was also built there for the heir-apparent.

¹³¹ *CTS* 3, pp. 60-62.

¹³² *ITCLC* 11, p. 67; *CTW* 8, p. 23b; *CTS* 3, p. 62; 4, p. 66.

¹³³ It is not, of course, to be confused with his formal Testamentary Edict, which ordered the heir-apparent to succeed to the throne "before his father's coffin"; text in *ITCLC* 11, p. 67.

¹³⁴ See *TCTC* 198, p. 6251, which reads 修身治國. *THY* 36, p. 656, has a slightly different text: 聖躬聞政 "to [perfect] the imperial person and expound the principles of government." *IFYK* 40, p. 18b, reads 飾躬聞政之道, presumably derived from the Veritable Record of T'ai-tsung, which is cited in a note written on the reverse of a Kamakura period manuscript of *Ti-fan* in the collection of the Umezawa kinenkan 梅澤記念館. There is no reason to question the authenticity of this citation, since T'ai-tsung's Veritable Records are known to have been taken to Japan during the T'ang period, and are quoted in various Heian works. See Denis Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History under the Tang* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.), pp. 122-23. The note in question says that it comes from chapter 37 of the *Tai-tsung shih-lu*, which in fact comprised forty chapters in all, so this citation is probably accurate. It writes this same phrase *shih-kung ch'an-*

the T'ieh-le 鐵勒 peoples had assembled to reassert their allegiance and proclaim him once more as their Heavenly Khaghan. He returned to Ch'ang-an on December 3. The progress to Ling-chou was undertaken to formally reestablish peace and T'ang suzerainty in the northern desert frontier, following the successful campaign against the Hsüeh-yen-t'o 薛延陀, and to offset the repercussions of his defeat in Koguryō.

¹²⁴ *IFYK* 259, p. 6a; *CTW* 8, p. 9a; *TCTC* 198, p. 6241.

¹²⁵ *TCTC* 198, p. 6241.

¹²⁶ *IFYK* 259, p. 6a; *TCTC* 198, p. 6247; *CTS* 3, p. 60.

¹²⁷ *TCTC* 198, p. 6250.

¹²⁸ Construction of the Yü-hua Palace was ordered August 24, 647; *IFYK* 14, p. 3a; *ITCLC* 108, p. 559; *CTS* 3, p. 60; *HIS* 37, p. 970. It was completed during the following winter, and in the second lunar mo. of 648 a local Act of Grace (*ch'ü-shé* 曲赦) was promulgated to the county of I-chün 宜君 in which it was situated, giving three years tax-exemption to the local people who had been displaced and resettled; *ITCLC* 108, pp. 559-60. According to Li Chi-fu 李吉甫, *Yüan-ho chün-hsien t'u-chih* 元和郡縣圖志 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1983) 3, p. 73, it had been built

that precede it, may have been a last minute afterthought.¹³⁵ It is a very personal direct exhortation to the prince, including a frank confession of T'ai-tsung's own failures and shortcomings as emperor. It was taken by Ssu-ma Kuang 司馬光, who included a resumé of it in his *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, as having been addressed publicly to the heir-apparent when the *Ti-fan* was presented to him.¹³⁶ There is no hard evidence, however, to support this interpretation.

The Transmitted Texts of Ti-fan

In the early-T'ang period, it seems that the *Ti-fan* text was divided into four *chüan* 卷. The summary catalogue of the imperial library dating to 721, which forms the "Monograph on Literature" (*ching-chi chih*) of the *Chiu T'ang shu*,¹³⁷ lists it as comprising four *chüan*, with a commentary by an otherwise unknown scholar named Chia Hsing 賈行. Another commentary was compiled during the reign of Ching-tsung (824-827) and presented to the throne by Wei Kung-su 韋公肅, chief secretary of the Office of Literary Composition, in 826.¹³⁸ At that time the work is said to have consisted of twelve sections (*p'ien* 篇).

Early in the Northern Sung period the *Ti-fan* survived in this complete form, but seems then to have been divided into two rather than four *chüan*. In 1026, the official historian Sung Shou 宋綬 copied a text of *Ti-fan*, divided into two *chüan* and comprising twelve *p'ien*, for presentation (together with other texts suitable for the moral guidance of a ruler) to the sixteen-year-old emperor Jen-tsung (r. 1022-1063), at the request of his mother the empress-dowager Liu, who was acting as regent.¹³⁹

cheng ("To polish yourself and expound the principles of government") with an unusual alternative variant character for *shih*. The text also has T'ai-tsung addressing this remark not to the "princes and dukes" 王公, as in *THY*, but to the princesses *kung-chu* 公主, which is obviously a copyist's error. See, for a discussion of this text, the meticulous study by Abe Ryūichi 阿部隆一, "Teihan, Shinki genryū kō fu Kōkan ki" 帝範臣軌源流考附校勘記, *Shidō bunko ronshō* 斯道文庫論集 7 (1969), pp. 173-74.

¹³⁵ It was included as a separate work in *CTW* 10, pp. 132-142. ¹³⁶ *ICTC* 198, p. 6251.

¹³⁷ *CTS* 47, p. 2026. *HTS* 58, p. 1512, repeats this information, which it presumably took directly from *CTS* 47, since it lists the commentary by Chia Hsing, but omits that of Wei Kung-su, which must at some point have been in the imperial collections as it had been presented to the throne in 826 (see below).

¹³⁸ *CTS* 17A, p. 520, which dates this on the fourth (*hsin-wei*) day; *THY* 36, p. 662. Both accounts say that the book consisted of 12 sections (*p'ien*). *CTS* tells us that Wei Kung-su was "specially rewarded with a hundred lengths of brocade and colored silk."

¹³⁹ *YH* 28, p. 262, citing *Chung-hsing shu mu* (i.e., *Chung-hsing kuan-ho shu-mu* 中興館閣書目 of 1178). For more detail, see *Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang pien* 續資治通鑑長編 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1979-) 104, pp. 2407-9. Sung Shou 宋綬 (991-1040) was an experienced official historian

In Southern Sung the complete version seems to have gone out of circulation. It is not listed in any of the official catalogues of the period.¹⁴⁰ The two great catalogues of private collections from Southern Sung, Ch'ao Kung-wu's 晁公武 *Chün-chai tu-shu chih* 郡齋讀書志¹⁴¹ and Ch'en Chen-sun's 陳振孫 *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-t'i* 直齋書錄解題,¹⁴² and also the bibliography of Ma Tuan-lin's 馬端臨 *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考,¹⁴³ list the book, but in a single *chüan*, comprising only six *p'ien*. It would seem that half of the original book, in its two *chüan* form, had been lost. From the short passages preserved in citations in *Yü hai*, it is clear that the surviving portion was the second half of the book, from the seventh *p'ien* to the end. None of the Southern Sung catalogues mention any commentary, and these, too, had both probably been lost. The book had clearly lapsed into obscurity.

The Text as Preserved in the Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu Copy of Yung-lo ta-tien

Although only half of the book had thus survived in Southern Sung China, following the Mongolian invasion of the independent Ta-li kingdom in Yunnan in 1253-54, and the region's later incorporation as a province of the

and the owner of a huge personal library, and it may be that the work he had "copied" and presented was one in his own possession. He was the father of the more famous official historian Sung Min-ch'iu 宋敏求 (1019-79). The Classics Mat had been introduced at the end of 1022, shortly after Jen-tsung's accession, and chief councillor Wang Tseng 王曾, who was also director of the National History, ensured strictness. The emperor, a studious child, was given an endless curriculum of canonical and historical texts. In 1026 his interest in the T'ang had recently been aroused by his acting justice minister, who explained to him that in recent years capital crimes and executions were a hundred times more numerous than they had been in the reigns of the T'ang emperors T'ai-tsung and Hsüan-tsung. Sung Shou was ordered to expound the *T'ang shu* 唐書 (i.e., the present *Chiu T'ang shu*) before the emperor, and the empress-dowager then ordered him to select writings from former ages to provide examples of good government for the young emperor. In addition to the *Ti-fan*, Sung Shou selected and prepared key passages from the *Hsiao ching* and *Lun yü*, and from two now lost political works compiled in the early part of Hsüan-tsung's reign, *Chün-ch'en cheng-li lun* 君臣政理論 (compiled in 3 *chüan* by Yang Hsiang-ju 楊相如; *HTS* 59, p. 1512) and *Sheng-tien* 聖典 (3 *chüan*, compiled by Yang Chün 楊燾; *HTS* 59, p. 1513). Jen-tsung continued to take an interest in T'ang history; in 1029 he commented to Wang Tseng that the styles of the *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu* were far better than that of the *T'ang shu* (see *Hsü Tzu-chih t'ung-chien ch'ang-pien* 107, p. 2504), and some twenty years later, in 1047, he was again studying the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* (YH 49, pp. 42-43).

¹⁴⁰ It is listed in Cheng Ch'iao's 鄭樵 *Tung-chih* 通志 as in four *chüan*, but this, like most of Cheng Ch'iao's bibliography, was taken at second hand, probably from the *CTS* or *HTS* bibliographical chapters. See *Tung-chih liieh* 通志略 (Shanghai: Shang-wu, KHCPTS edn., 1934) 19, p. 707.

¹⁴¹ See *Yüan pen* 袁本 version (Wen-yüan ko SKCS edn.; Taipei: Shang-wu, 1983), vol. 674, *hou-chih* 2, p. 42; *Ch'ü pen* 簡本 (Wan-wei pieh-tsang; Taipei: Shang-wu, 1981) 12, p. 6b. The *Yüan-pen* version lists it as comprising 20 sections (*p'ien*), but the *Ch'ü-pen* correctly writes 12 sections, so this is presumably a copyist's error. Both versions say that only six sections survive.

¹⁴² See as printed in Wen-yüan ko SKCS; Taipei: Shang-wu, 1983, vol. 674, *ch.* 9, p. 8a.

¹⁴³ See *Wen-hsien t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考 (Shanghai: Shang-hai shang-wu, 1935) 209, p. 1722c.

Yüan empire under Khubilai,¹⁴⁴ a complete copy comprising all twelve sections (*p'ien*) was discovered there and presented to the throne. The *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要, basing itself on a postface written on the new text by Wu Lai 吳萊 (1297-1340), dates its rediscovery to 1325. This postface was unfortunately omitted when in the eighteenth century the text of the *Ti-fan* was copied into the imperial manuscript library *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* from the *Yung-lo ta-tien*.¹⁴⁵ An essay by Wu Lai entitled "On Reading T'ang T'ai-tsung's *Ti-fan*" 讀唐太宗帝範 is included in his collected works, but gives no precise date.¹⁴⁶ The date 1325 for its rediscovery is impossible, as will be shown by the following evidence.

When Khubilai died in 1294, and was succeeded by his grandson Temür (Ch'eng-tsung; r. 1294-1307), an elderly Chinese scholar called Wang Yün 王恽 (1227-1304), who in 1282 had written a work entitled *Ch'eng-hua shih-lüeh* 承華事略 (*Summary of the Actions of a Crown Prince*), for the guidance of Khubilai's then heir-apparent Chen-chin 真金 (Temür's father), presented Temür with another rather more pragmatic exhortative work entitled *Yüan-ch'en Shou-ch'eng shih-chien* 元貞守成事鑑. Wang Yün was subsequently appointed to compile the Veritable Record for Khubilai's reign and made a collection of Khubilai's imperial injunctions. Wang Yün was a great admirer of the T'ang, and especially of T'ai-tsung. His *Ch'eng-hua shih-lüeh* mentions the composition of the *Ti-fan* and summarizes one of its sections. Herbert Franke, in his study of Wang Yün,¹⁴⁷ suggests that he had the *Ti-fan* in mind as his model in writing his injunctions for the heir-apparent Chen-chin, and it was probably also in his mind when he wrote the *Yüan-ch'en Shou-ch'eng shih-chien* (which later came to be incorporated in the text of the earlier work). This does not prove, of course, that he had the text newly discovered in Yunnan at his disposal, since the section on frugality which he summarized was in the second half of the *Ti-fan* that had survived through the Southern Sung period. But it

does show that there was considerable interest in the *Ti-fan* among the Chinese scholars at the Yüan court in the 1280s and 1290s, and possibly some interest on the part of Temür himself.

The *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* 鐵網珊瑚 of Tu Mu 都穆 (1459-1525), a generally none-too-reliable mid-Ming source, includes a note on the *Ti-fan* giving a somewhat different account.¹⁴⁸ According to Tu Mu, in 1295 the assistant director of the left of the provincial government of Yunnan (*Yün-nan hsing-sheng tso-ch'eng* 雲南行省左丞)¹⁴⁹ is said to have obtained this complete copy, divided into three *chüan*, from a member of the Pai people 白族 (that is, the modern Min-chia 民家). The Pai had formed an important element among the official class in Nan-chao 南詔 and its successor states, and the ruling house in the Ta-li 大理國 kingdom at the time of the Mongol conquest, the Tuan 段, were a Pai family.¹⁵⁰ Wu Lai's essay also says that the complete copy had been presented by members of the local aboriginal population called the Po 僂, which is an alternative name for the same general group of peoples as the Pai.¹⁵¹ In either case this text presumably had been preserved in the Nan-chao kingdom and in its various successor states in Yunnan since T'ang times.

The *T'ieh-wang shan-hu*, however, goes further, saying that the text presented to the Yüan occupying forces was written "in characters different from those of the Han Chinese," and had to be translated (*i* 譯), or perhaps rather transcribed, before being presented to the court.¹⁵² It also states that subsequent-

¹⁴⁸ Tu Mu, *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* (early ms. copy in National Central Library, Taipei; reproduced in *I-shu shang-chien hsüan-ch'en* 藝術叢書選珍 [Taipei: Kuo-li chung-yang t'u-shu kuan, 1970] 4, pp. 10-11. On this work, attributed to Tu Mu, see *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 25, p. 2713; Shao Chang 邵章 and Shao I-ch'en 邵履辰, *Ssu-k'u chien-ming mu-lu piao-chu* 四庫簡明目錄標注 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959), p. 483-84; and L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, eds., *Dictionary of Ming Biography* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1976) 2, p. 1323, *i.e.* Tu Mu. This 20-*chüan* collection is a somewhat jumbled assemblage made by a later compiler, and published under Tu Mu's name, of some of Tu Mu's writings, together with some actually written by other persons. The first four *chüan*, however, are Tu Mu's own genuine notes, prefaces, and colophons on various books and paintings. The note on the *Ti-fan* is included in this genuine section.

¹⁴⁹ This may refer to Yang Yen-lung, the holder of this post, who was recalled to become left assistant of the Secretariat (*chung-shu tso-ch'eng*) in 1295; *Yüan shih* 18, p. 390. He may well have taken the newly rediscovered text back with him to the capital.

¹⁵⁰ See Charles Backus, *The Nan-chao Kingdom and Tang China's South-Western Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1981), pp. 49-52, 160-61. The Pai had provided the ruling families of the various successor states to Nan-chao after 902, and after the Mongol conquest were appointed hereditary leaders of the population of western Yunnan by the Yüan, and later by the Ming.

¹⁵¹ The Po had been attested as the name of aboriginal peoples in this area from the Han period onwards. They were in fact the same people as the Pai, an identity which is clearly established by the Yüan author Li Ching's 李京 *Yün-nan chih-lüeh* 雲南志略, included in *Shao-fu* 說郛 (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1936) 36, pp. 19b-27b, esp. p. 24a.

¹⁵² On this complicated question, see the appendix below, "The Writing System of the Nan-chao Pai and Their Text of the *Ti-fan*." Abe, "*Teihan Shinki*," pp. 179-80, thinks that "translation" refers to the text's subsequent translation into Mongolian. But this cannot be the case, since the

¹⁴⁴ The Yün-nan provincial government was set up in 1274, briefly abandoned, and reestablished in 1280. See Sung Lien 宋濂 et al., *Yüan shih* 元史 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1976) 91, p. 2307; 122, p. 3012. Its seat was at Chung-ch'ing lu, modern Kunming.

¹⁴⁵ See Chi Yün 紀昀 et al., *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Shanghai: Shang-wu, 1934), p. 1887. According to this, when in the 18th c. the text was copied from the *Yung-lo ta-tien* for incorporation in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*, it had a colophon by Wu Lai that dated its rediscovery to 1325. Unfortunately this colophon was omitted when the *Ti-fan* was copied for the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*.

¹⁴⁶ See Wu Lai, *Yüan-ying Wu hsien-sheng chi* 淵穎吳先生集 (SPTK edn.) 10, p. 1a. This essay is mentioned by John D. Langlois, Jr., "Political Thought in Chin-hua under Mongol Rule," in idem, ed., *China under Mongol Rule* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1981), pp. 137-85, esp. p. 183.

¹⁴⁷ Herbert Franke, "Wang Yün (1227-1304): A Transmitter of Chinese Values," in Hok-lam Chan and Theodore de Bary, eds., *Yüan Thought* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1982), pp. 153-96.

ly, during the Ta-te reign period (1297-1308), a scholar from Pa-chou 霸州 (modern Pa hsien, south of Peking) called Li Nai 李耐 (t. Li Yüan-chen 元), who is mentioned elsewhere by Wu Ch'eng 吳澄 (1249-1333) as an authority on *Tseng tzu* 曾子 and *Tzu Su tzu* 子思子, wrote a commentary on the text.¹⁵³

A few years after this, at the beginning of the reign of the Yüan emperor Jen-tsung (Ayurbarwada; r. 1311-20), the new emperor, who was very well educated in Chinese and thoroughly indoctrinated with Confucian ideas on politics, ordered the manager of governmental affairs in the Secretariat, Ch'a-han 察罕 (Chaghan), a remarkable *se-mu* scholar from Balkh, to undertake a Mongolian translation of the *Ti-fan*. Ch'a-han had just translated the much better known book about T'ai-tung, the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, into Mongolian at the imperial command.¹⁵⁴

In 1324 the newly enthroned emperor Yesun Temür (r. 1323-1328) ordered the revival of the traditional "Classics Mat" (*ching-yen* 經筵) lectures to the throne and to the heir-apparent and imperial princes, and ordered the prominent scholars Chang Kuei 張珪, Khutulugh Törmish 忽都魯都兒迷失, Wu Ch'eng, and Teng Wen-yüan 鄧文原 to lecture on the *Ti-fan*, as well as on selected passages of *Tzu-chih t'ung-chien*, *Ta-hsüeh yen-i* 大學衍義, and *Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, all of which works had been translated into Mongolian by Chaghan and his colleagues. Unlike Ayurbarwada, Yesun Temür was unfamiliar with Chinese, and these Classics Mat lectures were therefore conducted not in Chinese but in Mongolian.¹⁵⁵

preceding sentence says that "it was written in characters different from Chinese, and had to be translated before it was presented to the court."

¹⁵³ See Wu Ch'eng 吳澄, *Wu Wen-cheng chi* 吳文正集 (*Wen-yüan ko* SKCS edn.; rpt. Taipei, 1985), vol. 1197, ch. 19, p. 15b, "Preface to *Yen-tzu* 顏子序. This discussion based on Tu's *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* 1, pp. 10-11.

¹⁵⁴ See *Yüan shih* 137, p. 3311; Ch'ien Ta-hsin 錢大昕, *Pu Yüan-shih i-wen-chih* 補元史藝文志 (in *Liao Ch'in Yüan i-wen-chih* 遼金元藝文志 [Peking: Chung-hua, 1958] 1, p. 233. In the sixth month of 1311, Jen-tsung, who had just read the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* in Chinese, instructed his Han-lin lecturer, A-lin T'ieh-mu-erh 阿林鐵木兒, to have the book translated into Mongolian and printed, so that his Mongolian and *se-mu* subjects could study it; *Yüan-shih* 24, p. 544. Ch'a-han's Mongolian translation of *Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, which presumably was made in response to this order, greatly pleased the emperor and prompted him to order a similar Mongolian version of *Ti-fan*. The translation which resulted was sent to the Historiographical Office, together with a number of other translations commissioned from Ch'a-han, who was renowned for his ability to read the languages "of all countries" 通諸國字書; *Yüan shih* 137, pp. 3309-11. On the various Mongolian translations commissioned by Jen-tsung at this time, see Hsiao Ch'i-ch'ing, "Mid-Yüan Politics," in Herbert Franke and Denis Twitchett, eds., *The Cambridge History of China, Volume 6: Alien Regimes and Border States* 907-1368, (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1994), p. 519.

¹⁵⁵ See *Yüan shih* 29, p. 644. On Yesun Temür's revival of the Classics Mat lectures, see Hsiao, "Mid-Yüan Politics," pp. 539-40. Presumably these lectures employed Chaghan's translations since all were on texts he and colleagues had translated during Ayurbarwada's reign.

All these events had taken place before 1325, the date given by the Ssu-k'u editors for the rediscovery of the complete *Ti-fan*,¹⁵⁶ so the earlier date of 1295 given in the *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* should certainly be preferred.

At some point during the Yüan dynasty soon after its rediscovery the newly recovered text also seems to have been printed, possibly twice, in the Ta-te (1297-1308) and in the Chih-chih (1321-1323) reign periods. No copy of any Yüan print seems to survive, however.¹⁵⁷

By early in the Ming the book had again become a rarity. In the *Wen-yüan ko shu-mu* 文淵閣書目, the catalogue of the imperial collections completed under the direction of Yang Shih-ch'i 楊士奇 (1365-1444) and presented to the throne in 1441, five copies are listed, three of which were missing.

In the early-fifteenth century the text recovered in the Yüan period, together with its commentary, was incorporated into the well-known court-commissioned work entitled *Yung-lo ta-tien* 永樂大典. The latter, however, was never printed, and ultimately was destroyed in the nineteenth century. Fortunately, though, in the eighteenth century the *Ti-fan* text included in *Yung-lo ta-tien* was used by the editors of the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* imperial library. The text was divided arbitrarily into four *chüan*, to conform with the descriptions in the T'ang standard histories, and the Ssu-k'u editors added their own critical notes to the commentary.¹⁵⁸ Later, the Ssu-k'u text was printed by the Wu-ying tien, and almost all subsequent Chinese printings of *Ti-fan* have been based on this. Thus, by inclusion in the early-Ming *Yung-lo ta-tien*, T'ai-tung's *Ti-fan* eventually came back into general circulation in China.

The author of the very detailed commentary included in the Ssu-k'u edition is not named, and it is tempting to try to identify him with one of the two known T'ang commentators. The Ssu-k'u editors considered that its form resembled that of a T'ang-period classical commentary, and that in spite of its long-windedness and redundancies, and the numerous copyists' errors, it was

¹⁵⁶ This was pointed out half a century ago by Otsuka Tomoka 大塚伴鹿, "Teihan no demon oyobi chüsha ni tsuite 帝範の傳本及び註者について" *Tōyō bunka* 172 (1939), pp. 21-28; 173 (1939), pp. 23-26, esp. 172, p. 23.

¹⁵⁷ Tu's *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* 1, pp. 10-11, claimed that his family collection included a Yüan block-printed edition. See Shao and Shao, *Ssu-k'u chien-ming mu-lu p'iao-chu*, p. 385. There also seems to have been a Korean edition printed with movable copper type, published in the 14th or early-15th c. that was based on the Chih-chih-period block-print of the full text newly recovered from Yün-nan (see above).

¹⁵⁸ See *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tung-mu t'ü-yao* 18, p. 1887. The editors' comments are set off from the original commentary by the character 按. The arbitrary nature of their division of the text into four *chüan* is shown by the text itself. The twelve *p'ien* of the main text fall into six pairs, each of which is followed by a summary linking them together as a unit. In the four-*chüan* division of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text, these pairings are split by the divisions between *chüan*, which leave sections three

detailed and broad-ranging enough to be worth consulting. Nevertheless, there is a major obstacle to accepting it as either of the two known T'ang commentaries, because it mentions the two Southern Sung authors, Yang Wan-li 楊萬里 (1127-1206) and Lü Tsu-ch'ien 呂祖謙 (1137-1181). The Ssu-k'u editors suggest these references may have been interpolations made by a Yüan editor into a genuinely old commentary,¹⁵⁹ but this is pure conjecture and they cite no evidence to prove their suggestion.

It is, however, almost certain that it is the commentary claimed in Tu Mu's *T'ieh-wang shan-hu* to have been written by the Yüan-period Confucian scholar Li Nai in the Ta-te reign period (1297-1308). This would remove the problem of its mentioning of the two Sung authors, and this more plausible attribution is confirmed by an early Korean edition in copper movable type once in the possession of Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 (Tokutomi Iichirō 徳富一郎, 1863-1957). This printed edition was apparently done before the *Ti-fan* was copied into the *Yung-lo ta-tien* in the early-fifteenth century, but its text derived from the same Yüan-period recension. It plainly named Li Nai as the author of the commentary.¹⁶⁰ I have been unable to track this particular Korean edition in any contemporary collection, but it was probably the original text for a later Korean woodblock edition, printed at some time between 1675 and 1771, which survives in the Changsōgak 藏書閣 Library's collection. This too names Li Nai as the author of its commentary.¹⁶¹

The Japanese Textual Tradition

There is a textual tradition of *Ti-fan* separate from that of the *Yung-lo ta-tien* text incorporated into *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu*. Furthermore, it may be more reliable and closer to T'ai-tsung's original text. This alternative text was transmitted in Japan. The *Ti-fan* was certainly taken to Japan by one of the Kentōshi 遣唐使 missions to the T'ang court, although it is impossible to give a precise

date. Several similar political texts from the seventh century were taken to Japan, probably in the early-eighth century; and two of the most important of these, Wei Cheng's 魏徵 *Ch'ün-shu chih yao* 群書志要 and the empress Wu's 武后 *Ch'en kuei* 臣軌, long lost in China, have only been preserved in Japan. The *Ti-fan* was certainly available there in the latter part of the ninth century, as it is included in the miscellaneous (*tsa-chia* 雜家) category in Fujiwara no Sukeyo's 藤原佐世 (d. 898) catalogue from the 880s, *Nihonkoku genzai sho mokuroku* 日本國現在書目錄, which lists it as being in two *chüan*.¹⁶² This same catalogue also lists an otherwise unknown "Eulogy on the *Ti-fan*" ("Ti-fan tsan 帝範贊"; "Teihan san") in a single *chüan*,¹⁶³ and a Japanese work modeled on the *Ti-fan* called "Extended Plan for an Emperor" ("Kō Teihan" 弘帝範), which was written at the imperial order by Oe no Otondo 大江音人, who died in the first year of Gangyō (877).¹⁶⁴ This shows that the *Ti-fan* was available and figured importantly in the consciousness of Japanese courtiers in the middle- and late-ninth century.

In the Heian and Kamakura periods and later it is mentioned and quoted in works on statecraft, such as *Meibunshō* 明文抄,¹⁶⁵ and is even reflected in romantic histories such as the *Heike Monogatari* 平家物語, *Heiji Monogatari* 平

covery in Yün-nan.

¹⁶² See Kohase Keikichi 小長谷惠吉, ed., *Nihon koku genzai sho mokuroku gaisetsu kō* 日本國現在書目解説稿 (Tokyo: Kawasakisō, 1936), p. 13; Yajima Genryō 矢野龍溪, ed., *Nihonkoku genzai sho mokuroku shūshō to kenkyū* 日本國現在書目錄集註と研究 (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1984). It also lists a 1-ch. *Ti-fan isan*, referring perhaps to the postface; see below.

¹⁶³ Yajima, *Shūshō to kenkyū*, p. 137 (item 777), conjectures that it may have been a copy made by a Japanese of the postscript to the *Ti-fan*. This postscript is included in *CTW* 10, pp. 13a-14a, as a separate piece titled *Ti-fan hou-hsü* 帝範後序, though both recensions of the *Ti-fan* treat it as simply an integral part of the text, and do not mention the title "Postscript" (*hou-hsü*). Moreover, there is no record of its circulating in this separate form earlier. *YH* 28, p. 26b, cites *Hsü shu-chih* 續書志 (i.e., the *Chung-hsing kuan-ke hsü shu-mu* [chih] 衷興館閣續書目 of 1220), saying that "Only six sections (*p'ien*) are preserved." It then quotes under the name "Preface to the *Ti-fan*" an abbreviated version of the present Postface. This would strongly suggest, incidentally, that it was the second half of *Ti-fan* that survived in Southern Sung.

¹⁶⁴ This work was compiled by Oe no Otondo, at the imperial order of either emperor Seiwa 清和 (858-876) or his father emperor Montoku 文德 (850-858). Seiwa ascended the throne as an eight-year-old boy, and if the book was commissioned in his reign, it was presumably ordered by the regent (*sesshō* 攝政) Yoshifusa 藤原良房. With the Sugawara, the Oe were the two families who controlled the Sōji court school and were most prominent in teaching Chinese learning at the court. *Sandai jitsuroku* 32, pp. 108-9, mentions the work in its biographical notice following Otondo's death, 11th mo., 3d day, 877. The work itself is lost, and not even quotations seem to survive, but judging from its title, and the fact that Fujiwara no Sukeyo places it together with the *Ti-fan*, it was certainly a book of a similar nature. See Sakamoto Tarō 坂本太郎, *Nihon kō-daishi no kisokuteki kenkyū*: [volume 1] *Bunken hen* 日本古代史の基礎的研究文獻篇 (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1964), p. 515.

¹⁶⁵ In *Zoku Gunsho ruiji* 續群書類從 30B, item 1, p. 114 (verbatim citation of *Hsia*, p. 1a, ll. 7-10); 2, p. 143 (two passages: (a) verbatim citation of *Hsia*, p. 2a, ll. 11-12; (b) verbatim citation of

and four, and sections eight and nine, which both form unities, divided between *chüan*.

¹⁵⁹ See *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu* 17-*yao* 18, p. 1887.

¹⁶⁰ See Sakata Arata 坂田新, *Teihan* 帝範 (Tokyo: Takei shuppan, 1981), p. 77. This is based on the editorial note by Tokutomi Sohō to his facsimile publication of Kariya Ekisai's 狩谷被薈 (1775-1835) personal copy of *Ti-fan*.

¹⁶¹ See Munhwajae Kwalliguk Changsōgak 文化財管理局藏書閣, ed., *Changsōgak Tōsō Hanguk'an Ch'ongmong-nok* 藏書閣圖書韓國版總目錄 (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1972; rpt. 1984), p. 566a. This edn. is in 4 ch., clearly from the same recension as the text copied into *Yung-lo ta-tien*. Beside naming Li Nai as the commentator, it has a preface dated 1323 by Liu Ts'an 劉參 (t. Tao-ts'un 道存) of Lu-ling, official Confucian instructor for Lin-chiang circuit. The preface mentions that it had been revised, while the publisher's note says it was reprinted by Chao Wen-ping 趙文炳 of Ku-pien, with the office of *ch'ao-lieh ta-fu* and in charge of the governor-general's office of Lin-chiang circuit. All this would support the argument for the earlier date of 1295 for its redis-

治物語, and *Shōmonki* 將門記.¹⁶⁶ There is also copious evidence of its use in Japan as a political text. Sakamoto Tarō's 坂本太郎 fine study of its influence in Japan, first published in 1956, adduces evidence of its having been the subject of formal lectures to the *tennō* on a number of occasions from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries.¹⁶⁷ In almost all of these cases, the emperor was still a boy, and the *Ti-fan* was clearly chosen as the subject of the lecture to present him with a model for his own reign. In 1087, for example, it was included in a group of books specially chosen as readings for the boy emperor Horikawa 堀河 (b. 1097; r. 1086–1107), together with the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Hsiao ching*) with its commentary by the T'ang emperor Hsüan-tsung, the *Cheng-kuan cheng-yao*, *Ch'ün-shu chih-yao*,¹⁶⁸ and various ordinances concerning the Japanese imperial household.¹⁶⁹ In 1091 a copy was presented to the same emperor by Oe no Masafusa 大江匡房 (1041–1111), who had prepared a version of the text supplied with reading marks in 1060.

Most of these readings and expositions to teen-age rulers must have been little more than a tedious formality. In any case, almost every one of the boy-emperors who sat through them was forced to abdicate as soon as he reached maturity. In 1148 the cloistered emperor Toba 鳥羽 reminisced that when he had occupied the throne (from 1107 to 1123) he had been taught the *Ti-fan* by a Confucian scholar named Sugawara no Ariyoshi 菅原在良, and "even though I did not like studying it, I would always receive my tutor, and sometimes order him to drink some wine."¹⁷⁰

hsia, p. 3a, l. 1; 5, p. 192 (two passages: (a) verbatim citation of *hsia*, p. 4a, ll. 3–4; (b) verbatim citation of *hsia*, p. 3a, ll. 8–10). I owe these references to my friend Prof. Wang Zhenping.

¹⁶⁶ See the examples quoted by Sakamoto, *Nihon kodaishi*, pp. 522–24. This reprints a study first published as "Teihan to Nihon" 帝範と日本, in *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 94 (1956).

¹⁶⁷ In 1164, 1171, 1192, 1202, and 1261. See the table given by Sakamoto, *Nihon kodaishi*, p. 519.

¹⁶⁸ This work was lost in China and preserved only in Japan, where it was very frequently referred to as an authoritative source on politics and the sovereign's role. Emperor Uda 宇多 (r. 887–97), an extremely learned and widely read ruler, left an injunction that it was the only work that a sovereign really needed to study. This view was later challenged by emperor Gouda 後宇多 (r. 1274–87); see Kitabatake Chikafusa 北畠親房, *Jinnō Shōtōki* 神皇正統記 3 (trans. H. Paul Varley, *A Chronicle of Gods and Sovereigns* [New York: Columbia U.P., 1980]), pp. 234–36.

¹⁶⁹ See Sakamoto, *Nihon kodaishi*, p. 516, citing the *Chū-yū ki* 衷右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠, under 11th mo., 22d day, of Kanji 1 (1087). The *Ti-fan* copy is said to have been in two *maki* (*chūan*) in a single wrapper (*chūsu*), confirming the two-chapter format that was universal in medieval Japan. These formal copies of books destined for the instruction of the boy emperor were unusually splendid, written on colored papers, and mounted on rollers tipped with quartz crystal. It is interesting that the books prescribed include three works connected with the rule of T'ang T'ai-tsung. The ordinances he was to study were *Procedures for the Emperor's Private Secretariat*, the *Karōdo shiki* 藏人式, compiled in the Kampyō (887–897) period by Tachibana no Hiromi 橘廣相, and *Procedures for the Inner Palace*, the *Dairi shiki* 内裏式, originally compiled in 821 and modified in 832.

¹⁷⁰ See Sakamoto, *Nihon kodaishi*, p. 517, citing the *Taishi* 台記, or diary of Fujiwara no Yorina-

ga 藤原頼 (1120–56), under 9th mo., 22d day, of Kyūan 4 (1148).

But it was not always an empty ritual. At least one more mature young *tennō*, the seventeen-year-old Hanazono 花園 (r. 1308–1318), took his readings of the *Ti-fan* very seriously indeed. In 1313 he held discussions of the text with his tutors on seven different occasions within the space of three months.¹⁷¹ And as late as the sixteenth century, in 1559 the recently enthroned *tennō* Ogimachi 正親町 (1517–93; r. 1560–1586), then in his forty-third year, ordered a tutor to expound the text to him. They completed it in five sessions.¹⁷²

It was employed as a political text for the Shoguns as well as at the imperial court. In 1250, at the suggestion of regent Hōjō Tokiyori, it was expounded to and discussed before the twelve-year-old Kamakura shōgun Yoritsugu (1239–56). Shortly after, in 1252, Yoritsugu was replaced as Shogun by an infant imperial prince, Munetaka. In 1263 similar discussions of the *Ti-fan* were twice held before the new Shogun, who was now twenty-one. Soon after, he too was removed from his office.¹⁷³

But the *Ti-fan* afterwards fell out of fashion. In 1382 the Ashikaga shōgun Yoshimitsu 義満 brought out a copy of the *Ti-fan* together with the *Ch'en-kuei* of empress Wu and asked his court scholar, the Zen monk Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信 (1325–1388) what sort of book it was, and was told, "It is work dealing with the matters of lord and subject, governance of the state, pacifying the family, and ritual formalities, which, long ago, Confucian scholars of this court loved to read."¹⁷⁴

In Tokugawa times it continued to be studied by Japanese Confucian scholars. It was frequently coupled with the similar work from late-seventh-century China, the *Ch'en-kuei* 臣軌 (by empress Wu, or her Confucian scholars). Some of the best known Tokugawa editions of these works were published as pairs, for example, the *Tei-han kokujikai* 帝範國字解 published in 1787 and *Shin-ki kokujikai* 臣軌國字解 published in 1792 by Ichikawa Kakumei 市川鶴鳴 (1740–95).¹⁷⁵ The two books were considered complementary; the *Ti-fan* defining the ideal role of a ruler, the *Ch'en-kuei* that of a minister. In another context it was studied to supplement the more familiar *Chen-kuan cheng-yao's*

ga 藤原頼 (1120–56), under 9th mo., 22d day, of Kyūan 4 (1148).

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 519, citing *Shinki* 宸紀, under various dates from the 2d to 5th mos., Shōwa 2 (1313).

¹⁷² These examples are from ibid., pp. 516–19, to which reference should be made for the sometimes complex sources.

¹⁷³ See Sakamoto, *Nihon kodaishi*, p. 320, citing *Azuma kagami* 吾妻鏡. For the historical background to these events see Sir George Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334* (London: Cresset Press, 1958), pp. 414–18.

¹⁷⁴ See Sakamoto, *Nihon kodaishi*, p. 520, citing Gidō Shūshin 義堂周信, *Kuge Nichiyō kufu ryakushū* (*Kuge Nikku shū*) 華日用工夫略集, under 18th of 2d mo., Eitoku 2 (1382).

¹⁷⁵ See *Kokusho sōmokuroku* 國書綜目録 (Tokyo: Iwanami; rev. edn. 1990), vol. 5.

depiction of T'ai-tsung's idealized regime, the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* providing the practical examples, and the *Ti-fan* the theory behind T'ai-tsung's actions. Very occasionally it was even coupled with T'ai-tsung's earlier exposition of his views on rulership, *The Golden Mirror* 金鏡, which had generally attracted little interest either in China or Japan.¹⁷⁶ In 1781, for example, the Confucian scholar of Owari han 尾張藩, Ishikawa Kōzan 石川香山 (Antei; 1736-1810), published a work called *Tō Taiso "Kin-kyō" kan ken* 唐太宗金鏡管見.¹⁷⁷

Many Japanese manuscripts survive,¹⁷⁸ some from as early as the fourteenth century, of a version of the *Ti-fan* text with commentary, divided into two *chūan* and twelve *p'ien*. This version seems closer to T'ai-tsung's original text than the *Yüan* text, and the commentary, which is much shorter and more to the point than that included in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* text, may just possibly be the early-T'ang commentary of Chia Hsing 賈行.¹⁷⁹

This Japanese version was first printed by the Shoshirin Hakusen 書肆林白泉 in Kyoto in the eighth year of the Kanbun era of the emperor Reigen (1668). It consisted of two *chūan* with a commentary, and was based on earlier Japanese manuscript copies; it was accompanied by an edition of *Ch'en-kuei*, also with a commentary and divided into two *chūan*. Both seem to have circulated widely.¹⁸⁰ Some later Japanese editions also combine the two books. An official print (*kanban* 官板) was published by the Bakufu in 1830, but this

¹⁷⁶ For an example of such a pairing see the ms. forming a single *ts'ü* incorporating the two books, each of them listed as in one *chūan*, in the Seikadō Bunko; *Seikadō bunko kanseki bunrui mokuroku* 靜嘉堂文庫漢籍分類目錄 (Tokyo: Seikado bunko, 1930), p. 425.

¹⁷⁷ See Sakata, *Teihan*, p. 72. The book is listed in *Kokusho sōmoku-roku*, 2, p. 583c, where the author's name is given as Ishikawa Anshin. His preface is dated Meiwa 7 (1770), the year before the publication of the book, 1771. According to Fumoto Yasutaka 鮎保孝, *Teihan Shinki* 帝範臣軌 (Tokyo: Meitoku shuppansha, 1984), introduction, the date of publication was 1781.

¹⁷⁸ For an exhaustive listing of early mss. and printed edns., see Abe, "Teihan Shinki," pp. 171-289, esp. 187-211. Pages 237-67 provide very detailed collation notes based on the 1668 printed edn., giving the textual variants in a dozen manuscript copies ranging in date from the Kamakura period to the early-Tokugawa, and to the Wu-ying tien printing of the *T'ung-lo ta-tien* version.

¹⁷⁹ The exact dates when these T'ang texts were taken to Japan cannot be proved. The *Ti-fan* could have been taken to Japan by the missions of 653, 654, 659, 663 or 669, or by any of the subsequent embassies after 702. Empress Wu's *Ch'en-kuei* was probably taken to Japan by the mission of 702-04 led by Awata no ason Mahito 粟田真人. At that time empress Wu was still sovereign of her Chou dynasty, and had just returned to Ch'ang-an from Loyang. (The empress returned to Ch'ang-an in the 10th mo., 701. Awata no ason Mahito, whose embassy had set out in 701, but had been forced to return to Japan by fierce storms, set out again in the 6th of 702 and was eventually received at court in Ch'ang-an in the 10th mo. Empress Wu returned to Loyang in the 10th of 703; *CTS* 6, pp. 130-31). During the embassy's stay in China, the *Ch'en-kuei* was a prescribed text for the examination system. By the time the next mission arrived in 717-18 the empress had been dethroned and dead for more than a decade, and the *Ch'en-kuei* no longer had any official standing.

¹⁸⁰ Yoshimitsu possessed a copy of the two books, in one scroll, in 1382.

reproduced not the earlier Japanese texts of the *Ti-fan*, but the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* text as printed by the Wu-ying tien 武英典珍本, which had been recently imported from the mainland.¹⁸¹

The Japanese texts of both the *Ti-fan* and *Ch'en-kuei* are best known in a modern edition printed in 1924, with collation notes by Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉 (1866-1940) listing variant readings in the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* text, and also with historical colophons by Yang Shou-ching 楊守敬 (1839-1915). This is the version used as the basic text for the translation below.

The Wen-yüan ying-hua Version of the Preface

It is possible to compare both this and the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* text with a certainly genuine late-tenth-century quotation of the Preface alone, which was included in the *Wen-yüan ying-hua*, completed in 987.¹⁸² The results, however, are inconclusive; of the seventeen passages where the Japanese text and the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* text differ, the *Wen-yüan ying-hua* agrees with the *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* in eight cases, with the Japanese text in seven, and in two cases has a reading different from either. The only conclusion to be drawn from this is that both current versions are quite close to the textual tradition still alive in the early Sung, but that neither is identical with it.

The Chen-kuan cheng-yao Quotation

An even earlier quotation preserves the text of one section of *Ti-fan* as it existed in the first decade of the eighth century, the version listed in the "Monograph on Literature" of *Chiu T'ang-shu*, which reproduces the *Ku-chin shu-lu* 古今書錄 of Wu Chiung 吾甕, a catalogue of books in the imperial library around 721.¹⁸³ *Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, written before 709 and revised about a decade later, includes in its section "Discourse upon Military Expeditions" ("I cheng-fa" 議征伐) a complete quotation of section 11 of the *Ti-fan*, named "Examining War" ("Yüeh wu" 閱武). Of the seven textual differences between the Japanese text and the *Yung-lo ta-tien* noted by Lo Chen-yü,¹⁸⁴ apart from the usage of *jen* 人 to replace the tabooed character *min* 民 throughout both the *Yung-lo ta-tien* and the quotation in *Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* text agrees in every case with the Japanese text.

¹⁸¹ Another early Japanese printed edition of the same text was published by the Meirondō 明倫堂 in Owari-han 尾張藩.

¹⁸² See *WYH* 735, pp. 1a-2a; also included in *CTW* 10, pp. 12a-b.

¹⁸³ See Twitchett, *Writing of Official History*, pp. 231-32.

¹⁸⁴ Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉, *Ti-fan chiao chi* 帝範校記 (n.p.: Tung-fang hsüeh-hui, 1924), p. 6a. On "I cheng fa," see Harada Taneshige 原田種成, ed., *Jōgan seiyō teihon* 貞觀政要定本 (Tokyo: Tōyō bunko kenkyūja kiyō, 1962) 9, section 2, pp. 266-67.

Text on Which the Translation Is Based

The following translation is based on the Japanese edition (cited as *J* in the notes) as printed by Lo Chen-yü, but takes account of variant readings in the *Yung-lo ta-tien / Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu* text (cited as *Y*), and in the *Wen-yüan ying-hua* version of the Preface (cited as *W*). It makes selective use of both commentaries.¹⁸⁵

TRANSLATION OF T'AI-TSUNG'S PLAN FOR AN EMPEROR (TI-FAN)

The "Preface" Says:¹⁸⁶

We¹⁸⁷ have heard that "the great virtue [of Heaven and Earth] is to bestow life, while the supreme treasure for the holy sage is to occupy the [imperial] position."¹⁸⁸ To differentiate high and low [among the living beings] the categories of prince and subject were set up, as a means by which the common people¹⁸⁹ might be comforted and reared, and the multitudes might be moulded as on a potter's wheel.¹⁹⁰ This position is

¹⁸⁵ I have also made use of the notes in the collected works of T'ang T'ai-tsung recently published: Wu and Chi, *T'ang T'ai-tsung chi*, pp. 204-37, and those in the excellent study of the text and integral translation by Sakata, *Teihon*; and the Japanese translation of both *Ti-fan* and *Ch'en kuei* by Fumoto, *Teihan Shinki*.

¹⁸⁶ In addition to the versions of the complete *Ti-fan*, the Preface (*hsü*) and Postface (*hou-hsü*) are also included in anthologies separately: Preface in *WYH* 735, pp. 12-22, and *CTW* 10, pp. 122-132; Postface in *CTW* 10, pp. 132-142.

¹⁸⁷ See *Ti-fan*, 2 *ch.*, together with *Ch'en kuei* also in 2 *ch.*, printed in Lo Chen-yü's *Ti-fan chiao-chi* (see n. 184, above), hereafter referred to as *J*, which reads 余. The two other printed versions read 朕: see *Ti-fan* in 4 *ch.* (*Wen-yüan-ko* 文淵閣 SKCS photorpt. edn. of ms. copy; Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu-kuan, 1983; hereafter referred to as *Y*), vol. 696; and *WYH* 735 (hereafter, *W*), pp. 12-22.

¹⁸⁸ *Book of Changes*, sect. "Hsi-tzu-chuan B"; trans. Richard Wilhelm (English rendering by Cary F. Baynes), *The I ching or Book of Changes* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1967; hereafter, *Changes/Wilhelm*), p. 328; cf. *Changes/Legge*, p. 381, "The great attribute of heaven and earth is the giving and maintaining of life. What is most precious for the sage is to get the (highest) place - (in which he can be the human representative of heaven and earth)." See also *Changes/Lynn*, p. 77: "The great virtue of Heaven and Earth is called 'generation.' The great treasure of the Sage is called his 'position.'"

¹⁸⁹ The normal understanding of *li-yüan* 黎元 is as a variant form of *li-t'ou* 黎頭, the black-haired, i.e., the common people. For obscure reasons, commentary to *Y* suggests an analogy with the phrase 元元之民, used by Former Han Wen-ti in 162 BC upon concluding peace with the Hsiung-nu. See *Han shu* 4, pp. 129-30; trans. Homer H. Dubs, *The History of the Former Han Dynasty* by Pan Ku (Baltimore: Waverly, 1938; hereafter, *HS/Dubs*), p. 264; parallel passage in *Shih chi* 10, p. 431 (*SC/Chavannes*, 2, p. 483). Wen-ti's phrase in *Han shu* is glossed by Yen Shih-ku 顏師古 (581-645, whose *Han shu* commentary was almost contemporary with *Ti-fan*'s composition) in the sense of "good." This interpretation of *yüan-yüan* goes back to Kao Yu 高誘 (ca. 168-212), the 2d-c. commentator on *Chan-kuo ts'ü*. If *Y*'s suggestion is correct, the passage should be rendered "as a means by which the good people might be comforted and reared."

¹⁹⁰ The potter working his clay on the wheel is a common enough metaphor for the ruler

not [solely] to be gained by a ruler's being capable of understanding, capable of wisdom, or being equally able in civil and military affairs.¹⁹¹ "He rules by the following decree of August Heaven:"¹⁹² "The determinative appointment of Heaven rests on his person."¹⁹³ How is it possible for [a ruler] simply to usurp control of the holy plan,¹⁹⁴ or without authority to preside over the sacred regalia?¹⁹⁵

For this reason, the power of Yao of T'ang was offered to him at the spring of Ts'ui-kuei;¹⁹⁶ the black gem stone was presented to Yü of Hsia to announce the accomplishment of his tasks;¹⁹⁷ the vermilion sparrow

transforming and perfecting his people; e.g., Tung Chung-shu's 董仲舒 *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu* 春秋繁露, sect. "Hsien-liang ts'ü," and biog. of Tsou Yang (and the commentaries), *SC* 83, p. 2477.

¹⁹¹ *J* reads 允文允武; *Y* and *W* read 允武允文.

¹⁹² See *Book of Documents*, sect. "Ta Yü Mo"; *Documents/Legge*, p. 54.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*; *Documents/Legge*, p. 61. Here it refers to the transfer of the throne from Shun to Yü. The same formula appears in *Lun yü* 20/1, but referring to the transfer of power from Yao to Shun. *Analects/Legge*, p. 350, translates *li-i-hu* 歷數 as "Heaven determined order of succession"; *Analects/Waley*, p. 231, has Yao say, "Oh you, Shun! Upon you in your own person now rests the heavenly succession"; see his additional note, p. 252.

¹⁹⁴ This 靈圖 refers to the "River Plan" *Ho-t'u* 河圖, which the saint-ruler Yao received at the Ts'ui-kuei R., written in red on the back of a turtle; see Michael Saso, "What is the Ho-t'u?" *History of Religions* 17 (1978), pp. 399-416. Its possession was one of the signs of a legitimate emperor. The commentary to *Y*, p. 1b, cites a passage from "Rhapsody on the Eastern Capital," but this is in fact l. 27 of Pan Ku's 班固 "Western Capital Rhapsody 西京賦" about the "numinous quality of the River Diagram," in the context of the prognostication of a site for the new Han capital; trans. David R. Knechtges, *Wen Xuan, or Selections of Refined Literature* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1982) 1, pp. 100-2, "Below, they found the site in harmony with the River Diagram's numinous signs" 俯協河圖之靈, on the basis of which he defines the *ling-t'u* ("Holy Diagram") as the emperor's tallies 符應).

¹⁹⁵ Commentary to *Y* cites Wei Shao's commentary to *Tao te ching*, which explains a mention of *shen ch'i* 神器 as "the emperor's seals and tallies, clothes and state carriages, and also the imperial throne." The term is used in *Tao te ching* 29 as a metaphorical description of the empire; D. C. Lau, *Lao tzu, Tao Te Ching* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963; hereafter *Lao-tzu/Lau*), p. 87: "Whoever takes the empire and wishes to do something with it I see will have no empire. The empire is a sacred vessel and nothing should be done to it. Whoever does anything to it will ruin it; whoever lays hold of it will lose it." In general the term refers to the material sacred treasures - holy seals, sacred tripods, and other ritual vessels, the possession of which symbolized imperial authority, and specifically the authority of reward and punishment. The emperor also sometimes referred to himself, in his imperial persona, as opposed to his own private person, or to the heir apparent as a "public vessel" (*kung-ch'i* 公器).

¹⁹⁶ This refers to the accession to power of Yao, who arrived with his various sage ministers at the ford of the Ts'ui-kuei R., where a great turtle with a holy diagram (*t'u*, the *ling-t'u* mentioned above) on his back emerged from the water. Yao ordered his attendants to copy the diagram, and when they had finished the turtle returned into the river. After this event Yao ascended the throne. Commentaries to *J* and *Y* cite as the source of this incident an apocryphal text "Lung yü ho-t'u 龍魚河圖," which I am unable to identify.

¹⁹⁷ See ending of sect. "Yü kung" in *Book of Documents* (*Documents/Legge*, p. 150; *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 18). But see also *Shih chi* 2, p. 77 (*SC/Chavannes* 1, pp. 149-50, and the n. there). According to "Yü kung," as translated by Legge, it was Yü who presented the black jade to the

presented its auspicious omen,¹⁹⁸ and Chou began its 700¹⁹⁹ years of auspicious rule.²⁰⁰ the spirit of the White Emperor manifested its joyful portent,²⁰¹ and Han began the foundation of its double dynastic tenure.²⁰² If we examine the task of a [founding] emperor or king from these [examples], it is not something that can either be striven for through wisdom, or contended for with brute strength.²⁰³

Formerly, at the end of the Sui, rebellion and lawlessness²⁰⁴ arose: the lands within the seas were split asunder and collapsing.²⁰⁵ Our former

emperor Shun, who had ordered him to set in order the mountains and rivers, to announce to his monarch that his onerous task was completed. However Karlgren translates the same passage "Yü was given (sc. by the emperor) a black jade tessera, announcing that he had achieved his work." Ssu-ma Ch'ien takes it in the same way, that Shun bestowed the black jade on Yü to announce to all the world that his labors were successfully accomplished.

¹⁹⁸Yand W read 丹鳥呈祥; Y reads 丹字呈祥.

¹⁹⁹Y writes 700.

²⁰⁰J and Y commentaries give as the source of this story a lost apocrypha to the *Book of Documents* called "Shang-shu chung-hou 尚書中候," which according to *Sui shu* 32, p. 940, had comprised 8 *chüan* during the Liang period, but by Sui only 5 *chüan*. It had a commentary by Cheng Hsüan. The commentary to J p. 12, quotes "Shang-shu chung-hou" as saying, "On the *chia-tzu* day of the middle month of autumn a red sparrow bearing a document in its beak entered Feng and alighted at the household of Ch'ang 昌." Ch'ang was the personal name of the future king Wen. The commentary to Y quotes what may be the same apocrypha under the title "Chung-hou kan-ying 冢候感應": "When King Wen received the Mandate there was a red sparrow bearing a vermilion document in its beak which entered Feng, alighted at the gate of Ch'ang, made a double obeisance and kowtowed." The reference to the Chou receiving 800 (700) is related by Y to a passage from a different apocryphal text, "Ho t'u," as cited in yet another apocryphon, "Shang-shu yün-ch'i 尚書運期."

²⁰¹This refers to one of the founding legends regarding Liu Pang, first emperor of the Han. When he was still a minor officer under the Ch'in, he was leading an escort when he decided to rebel against the government. The legend says that he and his men encountered a great white serpent blocking their path. Liu Pang hacked it in two with his sword to clear the way forward. Later one of his men going past the same place encountered an old lady weeping for her son, the spirit of the White Emperor who had assumed the form of a snake, and had been Liu Pang's victim. White had been the dynastic color of the Ch'in, and the serpent was thus the symbol of Ch'in dynastic power; *Shih-chi* 8, p. 347 (*SC/Chavannes* 2, pp. 330-32); *Han shu* 1A, p. 7 (*HS/Dubs* 1, pp. 35-36). J reads 表慶; Yand W read 表瑞.

²⁰²This phrase 重世 refers to the Former and Later Han periods. All these occurrences involve supernatural events or omens identifying a future emperor as the Heaven-ordained recipient of the throne.

²⁰³J: 由此而觀帝王之業非可以智競不可以力爭矣; cf. Y: 由此觀之帝王之業非可以力爭者矣; W reads 由此觀之 as in Y, but otherwise as J.

²⁰⁴These words 板蕩 together are a metaphor not simply for disorder, but for the terminal disorder and misrule that precedes the fall of a dynasty. The poem "Pan 板" (*Book of Songs*, "Ta-ya" (no. 254; Waley's no. 301) is an attack on rulers suffering Heaven's wrath resulting from their misrule, and an exhortation to them to mend their ways before they are destroyed. "Tang 蕩" (*Book of Odes*, "Ta-ya" (no. 255; Waley's no. 242) describes the Chou king Wen's attack on the decadence and evil of the Shang regime.

²⁰⁵分崩 is taken from *Lun-yü* 16/12 (*Analects/Legge*, p. 309; *Analects/Waley*, p. 203), where it is used to describe a doomed state: "The state is divided and tottering, disrupted and cleft and [the ruler] can do nothing to save it."

sovereign,²⁰⁶ with his holy martial mien, seized the opportunity to unravel the correct principles and policies of government.²⁰⁷ He beheaded the holy serpent²⁰⁸ and thus established his royal enterprise. He opened up the golden mirror,²⁰⁹ and grasped the axis of Heaven.²¹⁰

However, the five border peaks still encompassed evil ethers:²¹¹ so that the brilliance of the three luminaries (*san-kuang*, sun, moon, and stars) was subdued. Savage predatory beasts still obstructed his purpose. The dust storms [of rebellion] were still not yet settled down.

I myself,²¹² still at the appropriate age for my capping ceremony,²¹³ cherished passionate ambitions, intending to quiet the great troubles²¹⁴

²⁰⁶I.e., T'ai-tsung's father Li Yüan 李淵, emperor Kao-tsu, the dynastic founder. It is interesting to see T'ai-tsung praising his father's sublime military demeanor in the light of later representations of Kao-tsu as a passive leader.

²⁰⁷經綸 refers to the *Book of Changes*, hexagram 3 ("Ch'un 屯," "birth throes" [Lynn], or "difficulty at the beginning" [Wilhelm/Baynes]). The Ten Wings "Image" commentary at one point says, "In the chaos of difficulty at the beginning, order is implicit. So, too, the superior man has to arrange and organize the inchoate profusion of such times of beginning, just as one sorts out silk threads from a knotty tangle and binds them into skeins"; *Changes/Wilhelm*, p. 17. *Changes/Legge*, p. 270, is more clear: "The superior man, in accordance with this image (adjusts his measures of government) as in sorting the threads of the warp and woof." The same image appears in *Chung-yung* (see Legge, *The Chinese Classics* 1, pp. 429-30): "It is only the individual of the utmost sincerity that can exist under Heaven, who can adjust the great invariable relations of mankind, establish the great fundamental virtues of humanity and know the transforming and nurturing operations of Heaven and Earth." *Changes/Lynn* is still more terse: "Clouds and Thunder: this constitutes the image of Birth Throes. In the same way the noble man weaves the fabric of government."

²⁰⁸This establishes a parallel between the T'ang founding and the founding of the Han and its myth, described above, n 201. Its literal meaning is something like, "he hacked in two his Holy Serpent," i.e., "he took the decision to rebel and founded his own new dynasty."

²⁰⁹See n. 5, above.

²¹⁰*T'ien-shu* 天樞 means much the same as *t'ien-chi* 天機, the key-point or pivot in Heaven's relationship with the human world. It was also in T'ang astronomy the name of the various stars symbolic of the imperial position. It was one name for the Pole Star, Niu-hsing 紐星, in the North Polar asterism; see Ho Peng Yoke, *The Astronomical Chapters of the Chin shu* (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1966), pp. 67-68. It was also the first and most important of the seven stars in the Great Dipper (*pei-tou* 北斗) constellation (or Cheng-hsing 正星, "Principal Star"), which symbolized the Yang masculine principle and also the emperor, Son of Heaven; *ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

²¹¹J reads 然猶; Yand W read 然由. The five peaks, sometimes rendered marchmounts (*wu yüeh* 五嶽), were the great holy mountains which demarcated the extent of the realm, and are thus a metaphor for the whole empire. The evil ethers which they "contain" are the surviving rebel regimes that lasted until 624.

²¹²Jand W read 余; Y reads 朕.

²¹³*Jo-kuang* 弱冠 was the capping ceremony that marked a man's entry into adulthood. According to *Li chi* this should take place at the age of 20 *sui*; *Li chi*, sect. "Ch'ü li"; *Rites/Legge*, p. 65. In an edict dated 637 T'ai-tsung says that he was 18 *sui* when the T'ang rebelled against Sui.

²¹⁴J reads 思靜大難; Yand W read 靖大難.

and thus give assistance to the masses. Girded in armour and helmet, I personally faced arrows and stones. In the evening I confronted the "fish-trap" formation.²¹⁵ In the morning I oversaw the "crane's wings" encirclement.²¹⁶ No enemy was so great that they were not smashed;²¹⁷ what troops were there strong enough to avoid being shattered! I hacked away the great leviathans, and made clear the four seas.²¹⁸ I swept away the baleful comets and opened wide the eight extremities of the world.²¹⁹

Having already²²⁰ received the felicities conferred by boundless heaven, I recklessly ascended to the Great Dipper (*hsüan-chi*).²²¹ Having inherited the everlasting enterprise of the glorious virtue displayed by

²¹⁵ *J* and *W* read 魚網之陣, the "fish trap formation." The commentary to *J* points out that the idea is mentioned in *T'ao-chuan*, Huan 5; *T'ao/Legge*, pp. 43-46. In autumn (of 706 BC) an army of Ts'ai 蔡, an army of Wei 衛, and an army of Ch'ien 陳 followed the king to attack Cheng 鄭. "The Cheng army was drawn up in fish-scale array. There was always a force of 25 chariots each supported by 5 files of five men, to maintain a close and unbroken front. They fought at Hsü-k'o." Cheng's tactics were successful, they won a great victory. The king was wounded and withdrew his forces. Cf. *T'ao/Couv.* 1, pp. 82-83: "Ils disposèrent les troupes comme le pêcheur dispose ses clayons dans l'eau pour prendre le poisson, mettant des rangées de vingt-cinq chariots de guerre en avant et des groupes de cinq hommes derrière. Les groupes de cinq hommes étaient chargés de remplir les vides." The 3th-c. commentary of Tu Yü 杜預 cites an almost identical description from the *Ssu-ma fa* 司馬法. It is probably a passage missing from the extant fragmentary text of *Ssu-ma fa*. It would seem that Legge mistook *yü-li* for *yü-lin* 魚鱗, the fish-scale formation, a different and better-known military formation using closely arrayed infantry. The text of *Y* has made the same error, and reads 魚鱗之陣.

²¹⁶ The commentary to *J* says that "crane's wings" was an encirclement formation whose name comes from a work called "Pa chen t'u 八陣圖."

²¹⁷ *J* reads 敵無大而必摧; *Y* and *W* read 不在此必.

²¹⁸ Great whale 長鯨 is used by many writers from the Later Han onwards as a metaphor of evildoers who are insatiable in their appetites.

²¹⁹ *Ch'an-ch'iang* 梟獍 meant a comet (*hui-hsing* 彗星), according to *Erh-ya*. Comets were considered as portents of war and disorder (*yao-hsing* 妖星).

²²⁰ *Y* omits the first two characters 既而; *W* omits 而.

²²¹ These words are T'ai-tsung's gloss on his own usurpation of his father's throne and the murder of his brothers. There are several variants of this passage. *W* reads 既承佑天遑登廣璇機, "Having already taken the divine help from the imperial clan, I purified the Great Dipper (the position of emperor)." *Y* reads 承慶天遑登廣璇機, "Taking advantage of the felicity of membership of the imperial clan, I ascended the radiance of the Great Dipper." *J* reads 既而承慶天遑登廣璇機, "Having received the felicity of membership of the imperial clan, I recklessly ascended to the Great Dipper (the imperial throne)."

T'ien-huang 天潢 is one of a series of terms designating the Milky Way, *t'ien-han* 天潢, *t'ien-ho* 天河, *t'ien-chin* 天津, etc., which came to be used as a metaphor for the extensive imperial clan network, whose branches are identified with the heavenly tributary streams of the Milky Way (天潢之派). *Hsüan-chi* 璇機, which I have rendered as the Great Dipper, is ambiguous. It can refer to a single star, also written 璇璣, the second in the constellation Merak in western terminology, but it is also the term for the four stars that form the "box" of the Great Dipper (the three stars of the handle are known as the *yü-heng* 玉衡), which is another astronomical symbol of the human sovereign, the locus of temporal power, and of the Yang principle. In T'ang times *hsüan-chi* and *yü-heng* were also understood in a quite different sense, as observational instruments the posses-

successive sovereigns,²²² I continue to erect the abundant grand foundation of the precious register.²²³ "I tremble, I am apprehensive," as though looking down into the depths,²²⁴ or as if driving a team of six with rotted reins.²²⁵ Each day I am scrupulous about that single day,²²⁶ remembering²²⁷ that a good beginning will lead to a good end.

Because you are young, you are still partial in your affections. There is much lacking in the righteous instruction [you should have received],²²⁸ there is some perversity in the instruction you should have been given [by me] in the courtyard.²²⁹ Nevertheless, you were chosen from among

sion of which gave the ruler a direct link with the heavens. The *locus classicus* is *Book of Documents*, sect. "Shun tien" in the account of the rites accompanying Shun's acceptance of Yao's abdication. The translation of *Documents/Legge*, p. 33 ("He examined the gem-adorned turning sphere, and the gem transverse tube, that he might regulate the seven Directors"), is purely fanciful. *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 4, translates: "He examined the *sun*-stone apparatus and the jade traverse, and thereby verified the movements of the seven directors (sun, moon, and planets)." Joseph Needham, *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1960) 3, pp. 332-39, calls this jade instrument the "circumpolar constellation template" and explains that it was used to find the true celestial pole.

²²² 重光 here refers to *Book of Documents*, sect. "Ku ming"; *Documents/Legge*, p. 547: "The former sovereigns King Wen and King Wu displayed in succession their equal glory." *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 70, renders it, "The former rulers Wen-wang and Wu-wang displayed their brightness one after the other and set forth their refinement." It thus means the brilliant virtue displayed in the governance of successive sovereigns.

²²³ *J* and *W* read 繼寶錄之隆基. *Pao-lu*, the precious register, was the holy register of future events in store for the emperor, similar to the ordinary registers *fu-lu* 符錄. *Y* reads 大寶 in place of 寶錄.

²²⁴ See *Book of Songs*, sect. "Hsiao-ya," poem no. 195, "Hsiao min"; trans. Bernhard Karlgren, *The Book of Odes* (Stockholm: Mus. of F. Eastern Antiquities, 1950; hereafter, *Songs/Karlgren*), p. 143, "Tremble, be cautious, as if approaching a deep abyss, as if treading on thin ice." T'ai-tsung probably took this image from an edict of Kuang-wu ti, founder of the Later Han, dated 26 AD (*Hou Han shu* 1A, p. 26), where it occurs together with the following phrase "Each day be scrupulous about that single day."

²²⁵ This refers to *Book of Documents*, "Wu-tzu chih ko"; *Documents/Legge*, p. 158: "In my relation to the millions of the people I should feel as much anxiety as if I were driving six horses with rotted reins."

²²⁶ This was a favorite saying of T'ai-tsung, which occurs several times in his conversations recorded in *Chen-huan cheng-yao* (see for example 1, p. 20). Its *locus classicus* is probably *Hou Han-shu* 1A, p. 26. (See above note 224). T'ai-tsung had clearly read the annals of Kuang-wu ti's reign carefully, as random echoes from them turn up elsewhere in his writings.

²²⁷ *J* and *Y* both read *ssu*; *W* reads 冀, "to hope," in which case the sentence would read "Hoping that a good beginning will lead to a fine end."

²²⁸ See *T'ao chuan*, Yin 3; *T'ao/Legge*, pp. 13-14: "Your servant has heard that, when you love a son, you should teach him righteous ways, and not help him on the course of depravity." This passage comes from an admonition made by Shih Ch'üeh to Duke Chuang of Wei about the upbringing of his potential heirs.

²²⁹ See *Lun yü*, 16/13 (*Analec/Legge*, p. 315-16); *Analec/Waley*, pp. 207-8, translates, "Tzu-ch'in questioned Po Yü (Confucius's son): 'As his son, you must after all surely have heard something different from what the rest of us hear.'" Po Yü replied, "No. Once when he was standing alone and I was hurrying past him across the courtyard he said, 'Have you studied the

your brothers²³⁰ and given the duties of the Eastern Palace [that is, made heir-apparent].²³¹

Still, you do not yet clearly differentiate the rules of behavior for lord and minister; you have not experienced the hardships of sowing and harvesting.²³² This is a source of constant worry to me.²³³ I have always spent sleepless nights and forgotten about my food on this account.

From the time of Hsüan (Hsüan-yüan, the Yellow Emperor, or Huang-ti) and Hao (Shao-hao)²³⁴ down to the Northern Chou and the

Songs? I replied saying, 'No.' [He said] 'If you do not study the *Songs*, you will find yourself at a loss in conversation.' So I retired and studied the *Songs*. Another day he was again standing alone, and as I hurried across the courtyard, he said, 'Have you studied the rituals?' I replied saying, 'No.' He said, 'If you do not study the rituals, you will find yourself at a loss how to take your stand.' So I retired and studied the rituals. These two things I heard from him. Tzu-ch'in came away delighted, saying, 'I asked about one point, but get information about three. I learnt about the *Songs*, about the rituals, and also learnt that a gentleman keeps his son at a distance.'

Thus, it is a reference to the instruction that a father should provide his son; but also implies that this should be a matter of guidance regarding very general principles, the day-to-day teaching of a son being something that a father should not undertake, as likely to cause rancor on the part of the son. This rule is discussed in *Mencius* 4/1/18 (James Legge, *The Works of Mencius*, vol. 2 of *The Chinese Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893-95; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong U.P.), pp. 308-9).

²³⁰ The image of the royal clan or the royal princes as a fortified wall protecting the kingdom (宗子維城) comes from *Book of Songs* 254, "Ta-ya, Pan", 7; *Songs/Karlgren*, p. 213; James Legge, *The Shu King or The Book of Poetry*, vol. 4 of *The Chinese Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1893-95; rpt. Hong Kong: Hong Kong U.P.; hereafter, *Songs/Legge*), p. 503. Sakata, *Tethan*, points out that Li Chih had already been appointed as the prince of Chin, and was thus a "protector of the realm," from which position he had been selected to become heir-apparent.

²³¹ *Shao-yang* 少陽 means the eastern direction, and from this came to be used as an alternative name both for the Eastern Palace (*Tung-kung* 東宮), the residence of the heir-apparent, and for the heir himself. Both *J* and *Y* read *Shao-yang*; *W* reads 少年, "youth." This would mean "given the duties of a young man." But the variant reading is almost certainly erroneous.

²³² See *Book of Documents*, sect. "Wu i," 3; *Documents/Legge*, pp. 464-45: "I have observed among the inferior people, that where the parents have diligently laboured in sowing and reaping, their sons often do not understand this painful toil, and abandon themselves to ease." *Documents/Karlgren*, pp. 56-58, renders it, "Look at the small people. When their fathers and mothers have toiled with husbandry, their sons do not know the hardships of husbandry and take their pleasurable ease and rejoice, and finally they become disorderly and overbearing and insult their parents, saying: Those antiquated people have heard nothing and know nothing." Tai-tung certainly felt strongly about this failing on the part of his sons; in 633 he addressed Yü Chih-ning and Tu Cheng-lun, the presidents of the left and right secretariats of the heir-apparent: "When I was eighteen, I was still living among the people, and I knew everything true and false about their weariness and suffering. Yet when I came to occupy the Great Position, and had to make decisions about the business of the world, I still made errors. How much more will this be the case with the heir-apparent, who was born and has grown up in the depths of the palace. Since he has never experienced with his own eyes and ears the hardships of the common people, can he be expected not to be arrogant and disposed to idleness. You may not fail to admonish him with the utmost strictness." See *TCFC* 194, p. 6104. This incident is given in more detail in *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* (Harada, *Jōgan seiyō tethon* 4 [section 11,1]), p. 109.

²³³ *J* reads 余每此為憂; *Y* and *W* read 朕每思此為憂.

²³⁴ See n. 45, above.

Sui,²³⁵ those princes who have taken Heaven as the warp and Earth as the woof,²³⁶ those rulers who have continued the royal task and accepted the foundation of royal power [from their ancestors], have risen and fallen, created either good government or disorder. The Way is vividly revealed in their records. As a means to open up for you the mirror of former events, I have broadly culled the historical record²³⁷ and assembled together its most essential words, to act as a clear personal admonition for your conduct.²³⁸

Section One: The Body of the Sovereign

The people²³⁹ are the origin of the state. The state is the foundation of the sovereign.²⁴⁰ The body [substance] of the lord of men²⁴¹ should be like the great holy peaks, lofty and towering and unmovable. It should be like sun and moon, constant in their brilliance, and illuminating all alike.²⁴²

²³⁵ These were the two dynasties immediately preceding the T'ang. Thus together with the preceding sentence, this means "From the time of the ancient saint-rulers until the most recent times," or "throughout history."

²³⁶ *J* and *W* read 經天緯地之君; *Y* adds 以. ²³⁷ *J* and *W* read 博採史籍; *Y* reads 覽 for 採.

²³⁸ *J* and *W* read 以為近誠云爾; *Y* reads 而 in place of 爾. ²³⁹ *J* reads 民; *Y* reads 人.

²⁴⁰ Immediately after his accession in 626, Tai-tung used a similar figure of speech expressing the primacy of the interest of the people over both the demands of the state and the ruler: "The Sovereign depends upon the state; the state depends upon the people. Harshly exploiting the people to provide for the ruler is like cutting off one's own flesh to fill one's belly; the belly may be filled but the body will be killed. If the ruler is enriched, his state will perish. Hence the troubles for a ruler do not come from without; they are always produced by himself. If he wishes for magnificence, then his wasteful expenses will be great. If his wasteful expenses are great, then taxes will be onerous. If taxes are onerous, the people will be distressed; if the people are distressed, the state will be endangered. If the state is endangered, then the ruler will die. I constantly remember this, and therefore dare not give rein to my desires." See *TCFC* 192, p. 6026. This is Ssu-ma Kuang's summary paraphrase of the speech that opens the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* 1, p. 7.

²⁴¹ The body (*t'i*) of the Lord of Men, like the "body of the sovereign" of this section's title, means something like "the real substance" or "the essential nature" of a true ruler, very close to the Way of the Sovereign (*chün tao*), or the substance of governance (*cheng-t'i*) that provide the titles for the first two sections of the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, dealing with the proper role of a sovereign. One might almost translate this as "the ideal characteristics of a sovereign." The commentary to *Y* sets out a number of definitions and descriptions of the function of a ruler. *Po hu t'ung* 1A, pp. 10a-b; trans. Tjan Tjoe Som, *Po hu t'ung* (Leiden: Brill, 1949), p. 232, says that *chün* means *ch'ün* "to flock." This definition occurs earlier in *Ch'un-ch'iu fan-lu*, and *Hsün tzu* further defines it as one who can make people flock to him. The commentary to *Y* also cites (inaccurately) *Hsün tzu* as saying that "The prince is the gnomon, the people his shadow. If the gnomon is straight, then the shadow too will be straight. The prince is the bowl, the people water. If the bowl is round, the people will be round. The prince is a spring. If the spring is clear then the stream will be clear. If the spring is dirty then the stream will be dirty." It also cites *Isa chuan* as saying "He who confers benefits and rewards, punishment and awesome power is called ruler." It defines *t'i* "body" as "the shape and model of the sovereign's rule."

²⁴² *J* reads 真明而普照; *Y* has 貞 (pure) in place of 真 (true, real). This is a reference to *I-ching*, sect. "Ta chuan"; *Changes/Legge*, p. 380; "The sun and moon continually emit their light." *Chang-*

He is the one to whom the myriad people²⁴³ look up, to whom the entire empire turns. His will should be broad and magnanimous, sufficient to bind them together. His heart should be impartial and just, sufficient for him to make forceful decisions. Without awesome power, he will have no means to effect the most distant regions: without benign liberality he will have no means to cherish his people.²⁴⁴ He must comfort the nine grades of his kinsfolk by humanity.²⁴⁵ He must bind his great ministers to him by the rites.²⁴⁶ In serving his ancestors, he must bear in mind his filial obligations: in occupying his position [as ruler] he must remember to be reverent.²⁴⁷ He must repress his own [personal interests] and toil diligently, so as to put into practice virtue and righteousness.

Such then²⁴⁸ is the body of the sovereign.

Section Two: Establishing One's Kinsmen

The limits of the empire²⁴⁹ are broad and far extended. The emperor's most precious endowment is his position of supreme power.²⁵⁰ The far-extended empire cannot be²⁵¹ controlled by the will of one man alone: thus the emperor must control it together with others. The position of supreme power cannot be²⁵² occupied by [the emperor] alone: thus he

as/Wilhelm, p. 326: "So it is also as regards the course of the sun and the moon; their states of radiance are results of continuous movements..." The commentary of *J* cites Wang Pi's *I-ching* commentary giving the explanation of 貞 as equivalent to 正, "correct," "constant," or "regular in their cycles."

²⁴³ *J* reads 億兆; *Y* reads 兆庶.

²⁴⁴ *J* reads 民; *Y* reads 人.

²⁴⁵ See *Book of Documents*, sect. "Yao-tien"; *Documents/Legge*, p. 17: "He was able to make the able and virtuous distinguished, and thence proceeded to the love of the nine classes of his kindred, who all became harmonious." *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 1, understands this passage differently: "He was able to make bright his lofty virtue, and so made affectionate the nine branches of his family. When the nine branches of his family had become harmonious, he distinguished and honoured the hundred clans."

²⁴⁶ See *Lun yü* 3/19; *Analepts/Legge*, p. 161, translates: "A prince should employ his ministers according to the rules of propriety; ministers should serve their prince with faithfulness." *Analepts/Waley*, p. 99, translates: "A ruler in employing his ministers should be guided solely by the prescriptions of ritual, ministers in serving their ruler solely by devotion to his cause."

²⁴⁷ This certainly refers to *Book of Documents*, sect. "T'ai chia B"; *Documents/Legge*, p. 208, has: "When honouring your ancestors, think how you can prove your filial piety; in receiving your ministers, think how you can show yourself respectful." T'ai-tung has replaced *chieh hsia* 接下, "receiving your ministers" of the original text, with *ch'u hou* 處後, "dealing with their descendants," according to the reading of *J*, or *ch'u wei* 處位 "when occupying your position (as emperor)," according to the reading of *Y*, p. 3b.

²⁴⁸ *J* reads 此為君之體也; *Y* reads 乃在 place 為.

²⁴⁹ The six bounds (*liu ho* 六合) are Heaven, Earth, and the four cardinal points; it means "The universe over which the emperor reigns."

²⁵⁰ See n. 188. ²⁵¹ *J* reads 不可以偏制; *Y* omits 以. ²⁵² *J* reads 不可以獨居; *Y* omits 以.

must maintain it together with others.²⁵³ For this reason he should enlist his relatives "as a fence and protection" for his state.²⁵⁴ Both in tranquility and peril they will all join their strength together: in times of prosperity and decay alike they will be of one heart. Distant and near will support one another, both close and remote kin will be employed.²⁵⁵ "The road to territorial aggrandizement will be blocked;²⁵⁶ disobedience to the ruler's commands will not arise."²⁵⁷

In ancient times, when Chou was at its most flourishing, it carved up the mountains and rivers [ie. the territories] of the empire and divided them among the members of the royal clan. Within, there was the assistance given by Chin and Cheng;²⁵⁸ without, the defenses provided by Lu and Wei.²⁵⁹ As a result, the diviners predicted long-continued blessings

²⁵³ 偏制 means to rule entirely by the efforts of a single person. This passage is a paraphrase of the beginning of Lu Chi's 陸極 (261-303) essay "On the Five Degrees of Nobility" ("Wu-teng lun 五等論") included in *Wen hsüan* 文選 (Shanghai: KHCPTS edn., 1935) 54, pp. 1161-68. The relevant passage (p. 1161) reads: "Those Former Kings knew that the task of being emperor is extremely onerous, and the empire extremely broad in its extent. Being so broad [the empire] cannot be ruled by one man alone. Being so onerous, the duties [of emperor] cannot be performed by a single person. Since the duties are so onerous [the emperor] must avail himself of the efforts of others. Since his rule spreads so broadly, in the end he is forced to depend upon other men. Thus they established offices and divided up their duties, so as to lighten their own responsibilities; and also established the five seniors (*wu chang* 五長) through whom they could extend their rule more broadly." The *wu chang* here is a reference to a passage in *Book of Documents*, sect. "I chi"; *Documents/Legge*, p. 85: "... establishing in the regions beyond, extending to the four seas, five Presidents (*wu chang*)." These dignitaries ruled in the outer regions of the world, beyond the Five zones of subordination (*wu fu* 五服) under the emperor's control.

²⁵⁴ See *Tso chuan*, Hsi 24; *Tso/Legge*, p. 192A: "Thus the duke of Chou, grieved by the want of harmony in the concluding times [of the two previous dynasties], raised the relatives of the Royal House to the rule of States, that they might act as fences and screens (*fan-p'ing* 蕃屏) to Chou."

²⁵⁵ The commentary to *J*, p. 4b, notes the similarity to a speech by Kuo Chi 郭伋 to the founding emperor of Later Han, Kuang-wu ti, advising him not to appoint only fellow countrymen from Nan-yang to high positions. Its relevance to the text, like much else in this commentary, seems tenuous.

²⁵⁶ *J* reads 則并兼路塞; *Y* omits 則.

²⁵⁷ A reference to Ts'ao Chiung's 曹闕 "Liu tai lun 六代論," cited in full in commentary to *San kuo chih* 20, pp. 592-95 (citing *Wei shih Ch'un-ch'iu* 魏氏春秋); also in *Wen hsüan* 52, pp. 1129-34; esp. p. 1132. "Liu tai lun" offered a particularly apposite model for *Ti-fan*. Ts'ao Chiung was a great-uncle of the Wei emperor Shao-ti (r. 239-254), and his essay was written for the guidance of the emperor, then a very young child. The author hoped to induce Ts'ao Shuang 曹爽 to present it to the emperor, but Shuang was unable to do so.

²⁵⁸ Commentary to *J* refers to *Tso Chuan*, Hsi 24; *Tso/Legge*, p. 192A. Chin, originally called Tang, was the fief of king Ch'eng's younger brother Shu-yü, while Cheng was originally the fief of king Hsüan's younger brother Yu.

²⁵⁹ Commentary to *J* cites *Lun yü* 13/7; *Analepts/Waley*, p. 173, translates, "The master said, 'In their politics Lu and Wei are still brothers'; see also *Analepts/Legge*, p. 266. Lu was originally the fief of the fourth son of King Wen, and Wei that of his seventh son. The point of "the defences

[for the royal house] and several hundred years of continuous rule [for their dynasty].²⁶⁰

At the end of Ch'in, [the First Emperor] rejected the plan [to reestablish fiefs] put forward by Ch'un-yü [Yüeh] 淳于越 and instead accepted the advice of Li Ssu 李斯.²⁶¹ He did not treat his own kin as kin, and considered only his own wisdom as being truly wise. When his state was overturned, there was no one on whom to rely [for assistance], and in the second generation, his dynasty was destroyed.²⁶² Was this not a case of "when the twigs and leaves are luxuriant, the roots will be difficult to pull out,"²⁶³ or of "once the legs and arms have perished there is nothing to support the heart and belly."²⁶⁴

When the Han first established themselves in Kuan-chung, they took a warning from the mistaken policy of the fallen Ch'in, and widely enfeoffed their [founder's] close relatives; but they went beyond the ancient system. The greater [fiefs] were a case of "one single city being the equal of the state [capital]";²⁶⁵ even the smallest "strode over commanderies and linked together provinces."²⁶⁶ "If the ends of the branch are too great,

without" is that both these fiefs were established under sons of king Wen to control the remnants of Shang power. Wei had been the site of the Shang capital, and the area of Lu contained many Shang refugees.

²⁶⁰ *Isō chuan*, Hsüan 3; *Isō/Legge*, p. 2938 (para. 4).

²⁶¹ See *Shih chi* 6, p. 254; *SC/Chavannes* 2, p. 170; *SC/Nienh.* 1, pp. 146-48.

²⁶² Another echo of Ts'ao Chiung's "Liu tai lun" (see n. 257, above; *Wen hsüan* 52, p. 1128). The same contrast between the permanence enjoyed by the Chou, who kept to a system of enfeoffment, and the swift demise of the Ch'in, who had abolished the feudal nobility, is constantly cited in T'ang discourse about the restoration of the system of fiefs, of which T'ai-tung was a strong advocate. See *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* 3, pp. 86-95, which begins: "In the eleventh year Chen-kuan (638), T'ai-tung considered that the Chou had enfeoffed royal sons and younger brothers, and lasted for more than eight hundred years, while Ch'in abolished the feudal lords and was destroyed in the second generation..." See also *CTS* 72, pp. 2572-76; *THY* 46, pp. 824-28; *WYH* 741, pp. 12-5b.

²⁶³ The image of the state as a tree, with the nobility as its "twigs and leaves," is used in Ts'ao Chiung's "Liu tai lun" (*Wen hsüan* 52, p. 1132), which cites a speech by Liu Hsiang 劉向 (see his biog. in *Han shu* 36) that uses the same metaphor.

²⁶⁴ "Legs and arms 股肱" (literally thighs and forearms) had a long association with the conception of the state in the image of the human body. The earliest *locus* is *Book of Documents*, sect. "I chi," 4; *Documents/Legge* (p. 79): "The emperor said, 'My ministers constitute my legs and arms, my ears and eyes.'" Also see *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 11, who treats "I chi" as a continuation of the "Ko Yao mo" sect., and numbers this section 12.

²⁶⁵ A reference to *Isō chuan*, Min 2; *Isō/Legge*, pp. 130-31: "Hsin Po gave counsel to Duke Huan of Chou, saying, 'The favourite of the harem made equal to the queen; the favourites of the court made equal to the ministers of the government; the sons of a concubine made equal to the legitimate son; another great city made as large as the capital: these are the foundation of disorder.'" See also, *Isō/Couv.* 1, p. 227.

²⁶⁶ See Ts'ao Chiung's "Liu tai lun" (*Wen hsüan* 52, p. 1131): "However, the fiefs created by

then there is danger [of its breaking off]; if the tail is too big, it is difficult to wag."²⁶⁷ The six kings harbored ambitions of rebellion; the rulers of the seven feudal kingdoms suffered execution by the headsman's axe.²⁶⁸ These were all examples of what can result when feudatories' territories are too broad, their forces too strong, and their power is allowed to build up.

When Emperor Wu of Wei (Ts'ao Ts'ao 曹操; d. 220 AD) set up his dynasty, he took no regard of long-term policy. Not one of his sons or younger brothers was enfeoffed: the members of his royal clan did not have enough land on which to stand up an awl. Outside there were no [brothers to act as a] wall to protect himself. Within there was no great base stone to act as the foundation for the state.²⁶⁹ Consequently, the royal authority was preserved by others;²⁷⁰ and the Altars of Soil and Grain [of his dynasty] fell to members of a family with a different surname.²⁷¹ The ancients had a saying, "If the flow of a stream is exhausted, the spring has dried up; if the branches fall, the trunk is rotten,"²⁷² and it applies to this situation.

If the feudatories are allowed to become too powerful, then it will bring about distress over a situation that is impossible [to remedy].²⁷³ If,

Kao-tsu exceeded in size those of the ancient system. The larger ones straddled provinces and combined their frontiers; the smaller ones joined together several tens of cities" 然高祖封建地過古制大者跨州兼域小者連城數十。

²⁶⁷ See *Isō chuan*, Chao 11, *Isō/Legge*, p. 635: "Looking at these examples, we must conclude that [such great cities] are injurious to a state. Great branches are sure to break [the roots]; a great tail cannot be moved about: this is what you know." See also *Isō/Couv.* 3, p. 191.

²⁶⁸ This is a reference to the rebellion of seven of the Han kingdoms under Ching-ti in 154 BC. The rebellion began with the king of Wu 吳王, who was later joined by the kings of Ch'u 楚, Chao 趙, Chi-nan 濟南, Tzu-ch'uan 淄川, Chiao-tung 膠東, and Chiao-hsi 膠西. See *Cambridge History of China* 1, pp. 139-44.

²⁶⁹ "Liu tai lun" (p. 1133), deals with the same situation: "Within there was not the strength of deep roots that could not be pulled up; without there was not the assistance like a great foundation stone that came from an ancestral covenant 內無深根不拔之固, 外無盤石宗盟之助." The whole pattern of images and the vocabulary used by T'ai-tung certainly comes from this powerful essay, albeit without direct parallel. The previous passage about the dynastic sons "not having enough land on which to stand an awl" (a cliché taken from *Chuang-tzu*), also appears in "Liu tai lun" (p. 1130), although it is used there to describe the condition not of the royal princes, but of the great officers of state under the Ch'in.

²⁷⁰ *J* reads 神器保於他人; *Y* reads 大器保於他人. The commentary to *Y* cites *Lao tzu*, sect. 36; *Lao-tzu/Lau*, p. 95: "The instruments of power in a state must not be revealed to anyone" 國之利器不示人. The terms 神器 / 大器, above, are much the same as *Lao tzu's* 利器, which is explained as the power to punish or reward - meaning royal authority.

²⁷¹ That is, the Ssu-ma, who seized power and established their Chin dynasty in 266.

²⁷² See "Liu tai lun" (*Wen hsüan* 52, p. 1134): "If the spring is exhausted the stream's flow dries up. If the root is rotten the leaves will wither" 夫泉竭則流涸, 根朽則葉枯.

²⁷³ Commentary to *J* refers to *Isō chuan*, Kuang 6; *Isō/Legge*, p. 79: "King Wen of Ch'u was invading Shen and passed by Teng. Marquis Ch'i of Teng said, 'He is my sister's son,' and

however, they are rendered too weak, then there will be no foundation for a strong trunk. Speaking on the basis of this, there is nothing as good as establishing large numbers of the ruler's kin [in fiefs], but keeping their [individual] power small. This will cause the great and small to defend one another; and people will share their sorrows and happiness in common. Then, above there will be no suspicious and jealous hearts, below no apprehension about becoming victims of trespass and injustice. This is the lesson to be learned from enfeoffment.

These two things²⁷⁴ ["The Body of the Sovereign" and Establishing One's Kinsmen"] are the foundation for the tranquility of the state. The breadth of the ruler's virtue only depends upon his extensive reach. Responding to his duties and acting in a way appropriate to the times, he will control all living beings in accordance with the Way. In his methods of governance he takes their subtleties from the divine secrets. In his fundamental way of government he achieves its successful accomplishment from the clear and great. If he embraces the heavens²⁷⁵ to give form to his heart and mind, the people will look up to him and will be unable to fathom him. If he enfolds the broad earth and takes this as his measure, then the people will follow him without any limit. "So boundless [will be] his virtue that the people will not be able to find a name for it."²⁷⁶ Then it is fitting for his power to be broad and far-reaching.

Moreover, "respect and reverence your nine groups of kin."²⁷⁷ Keep the splendid example handed down by Yao (Fang-hsün)²⁷⁸ before you: and "be able to live in harmony [with your family] and gradually lead

thereupon detained and feasted him. Three other sisters' sons, called Chui, Tan, and Yang, requested leave to put the viscount to death, but the marquis refused it. 'It is certainly this man,' they said, 'who will destroy the State of Teng. If we do not take this early measure, hereafter you will have to gnaw your navel: will you then be able to take any measures?' This is the time to do what should be done." See also *Iso/Couv.*, 1, p. 138. The term "gnaw your navel" 噬臍, usually written, as in the text, as 噬臍, became a cliché for frustration over an act about which nothing can possibly be done.

²⁷⁴ The twelve substantive sections of the *Ti-fan* are divided into six pairs, after each of which there is a paragraph such as this one, explaining how the two complementary sections fit together.

²⁷⁵ Ts'ang-min 蒼旻, literally the spring and autumn skies, is here used for Heaven. This and the following sentence express the universal reach both of the emperor's power and his concern for the people of the world.

²⁷⁶ See *Lun yü* 8/20 (*Analepts/Legge*, p. 214); *Analepts/Waley*, p. 136, says: "Greatest, as lord and ruler was Yao. Sublime, indeed, was he. 'There is no greatness like the greatness of Heaven,' yet Yao could copy it. So boundless was it (ie. his virtue) that the people could find no name for it."

²⁷⁷ See *Book of Documents*, sect. "Yao-tien" 1 (*Documents/Karlgren*, p. 1). See previous n.

²⁷⁸ Fang-hsün 放勳 was the personal name of the emperor Yao. See *Book of Documents*, sect. "Yao-tien" 1; *Documents/Legge*, p. 15; *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 1.

them to good government."²⁷⁹ Place the glorious example left to future generations by Shun (Ch'ung hua)²⁸⁰ behind you. Do not destroy the righteous on account of the evil! Never drive a wedge between yourself and your close kin on account of distant relatives! Observe them with clear-sightedness; soothe them with virtue.²⁸¹ Then all their states and families will grow great; and your own flesh and bones will be free of anxiety. If you do this, everything will become fine indeed.

Section Three: Seeking Sage-Worthies

Assistance in the task of rectifying the state must wait upon loyal and good [ministers]. If in the employment [of officials] the emperor obtains the appropriate men,²⁸² then the empire will rule itself. Thus Yao gave his orders to the "Four Guardian Peaks";²⁸³ Shun promoted the eight worthies²⁸⁴ and was thus able to achieve the splendor of "governing by inaction,"²⁸⁵ and by employing their assistance followed the way of "reverence and clear understanding."²⁸⁶ Not one of them had not "folded his

²⁷⁹ Reference to *Book of Documents*, sect. "Yao-tien" 12 (*Documents/Legge*, p. 26; *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 4). Legge translates this passage, in which Shun's suitability for the position of ruler is being discussed, as follows, "He is the son of a blind man. His father was obstinately unprincipled; his step-mother was insincere; his half brother Hsiang was arrogant. He has been able, however, by his filial piety, to live in harmony with them, and to lead them gradually to self-government, so that they no longer proceed to great wickedness." Karlgren takes this differently; "He is the son of a blind man; his father was stupid, his mother was deceitful, his brother Hsiang was arrogant. He has been able to be concordant and to be grandly filial; he has controlled himself and has not come to wickedness." In the present context Legge's rendering seems the more appropriate.

²⁸⁰ Ch'ung-hua 重華 was the personal name of emperor Shun. See *Book of Documents*, sect. "Shun-tien" 1 (*Documents/Legge*, p. 29). *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 4, treats "Yao-tien" and "Shun-tien" as a single document, and omits this passage.

²⁸¹ Following 察之以明撫之以德, Y, p. 9b, has only 察之以德. This would give the translation "observe them with virtue." J is certainly the correct reading.

²⁸² J reads 任使得其人; Y omits last two words.

²⁸³ See *Book of Documents*, "Yao-tien" 11 (*Documents/Legge*, pp. 24-25; *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 3). There is disagreement among commentators whether *ssu-yüeh* was the title of a single "Lord of the Four Peaks" or a group of adviser-ministers. These are sometimes said to have been the four sons of Hsi-ho 羲和.

²⁸⁴ See *Iso chuan*, Wen 18 (*Iso/Legge*, pp. 282-83) gives this title to the eight talented sons of Kao-hsin 高辛, who were eventually raised to office by Shun. The *yüan* of their tide is glossed by some scholars as meaning *shan* 善, "good."

²⁸⁵ "Placed himself gravely and reverently 恭己" refers to *Analepts* 15/4 (*Analepts/Legge*, p. 295; *Analepts/Waley*, p. 193). "The Master said, 'Among those that "ruled by inactivity" surely Shun may be counted. For what action did he take? He merely placed himself gravely and reverently with his face due south; and that was all.'" "Facing south" was of course the traditional orientation of the ruler.

²⁸⁶ 欽明之道 refers to the description of Yao's qualities in *Book of Documents*, "Yao-tien" 1 (*Documents/Legge*, p. 15; *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 1).

wings, hidden his scales,"²⁸⁷ and awaited the occurrence of the right clouds and wind.²⁸⁸ Such men should enfold their rare talents in their breast, store deep their extraordinary abilities, hoping for a time that will present them with a suitable opportunity.²⁸⁹ Thus²⁹⁰ the enlightened ruler "seeks men of eminence suitable for office on every side,"²⁹¹ enquires broadly for distinguished and talented men,²⁹² sets forth [suitable worthies] from among the poor and mean.²⁹³ Do not fail to employ anyone because he is of inferior status: do not fail to honor anyone because he is in disgrace.

In ancient times, Yi Yin was a mere servitor of the king's concubine from the noble house of Hsin,²⁹⁴ and Lü Wang an old man of mean condition living on the banks of the Wei River.²⁹⁵ [Kuan] I-wu suffered confinement in bonds;²⁹⁶ Han Hsin was driven to extremity as a runaway

²⁸⁷ "To fold one's wings and hide one's scales" 收翼陰鱗 is an expression meaning to retire into obscurity and conceal one's abilities. The commentary of *Y* suggests a connection with Jen Fang's 任昉 (Jen Yen-sheng 任彦昇) "Hsüan-te huang-hou ling 宣德皇后令" (*Wen hsüan* 36, p. 789), where it is used to refer to the "hidden dragon" who lays low in obscurity awaiting his right time. It is also used by T'ai-tung in his editorial comment to the Basic Annals of emperor Hsüan of the Chin (see n. 2, above).

²⁸⁸ *Y* reads 候風雲之運: "Anticipating the changes of the wind and clouds"; *Y* reads 待風雲之會: "Awaiting the appropriate combination of wind and clouds."

²⁸⁹ The *Y* commentary draws attention to a Han-era letter of Mei Fu 梅福 addressed to emperor Ch'eng-ti (r. 303-07 ac). Mei specialized both in the study of the *Book of Documents* and the Ku-liang interpretation of *Spring and Autumn Annals*. His letter mentioned that Han Kao-tzu had promoted Ch'en Ping and Han Hsin to high office (see n. 103, above; 297, below) from very lowly backgrounds, and thereupon "the scholars of the empire flocked like clouds to take service under the Han, and competed to offer their unusual talents and rare abilities. The wise exhausted their plans; the foolish contributed all their concerns..."; *Han shu* 67, pp. 2917-22.

²⁹⁰ *Y* reads 是以; *Y* omits 以.

²⁹¹ The phrase 旁求俊乂 is a quotation from *Book of Documents*, "Yüeh ming" 3; *Documents/Legge*, p. 261: "...on every side to look out for men of eminence to place in the various offices."

²⁹² *Y* reads 博訪英才; *Y* reads 賢 in place of 才, which would cause the translation to be: "enquires broadly for distinguished men and sage-worthies."

²⁹³ See *Book of Documents*, "Yao tien" 12 (*Documents/Legge*, p. 26; *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 4). The words are spoken by Yao in the context of searching for an eventual successor, a search that eventually produced Shun.

²⁹⁴ See *Shih chi* 3, p. 94 (*SC/Chavannes* 1, p. 178).

²⁹⁵ Lü Wang is probably not a name but an epithet: Lü "The Gazer," used for Lü Shang, better known as T'ai-kung. See Sarah Allan, "The Identities of Taigong Wang in Zhou and Han Literature" *MS* 30 (1972-73), pp. 57-99.

²⁹⁶ Better known as Kuan Chung, the chief minister to duke Huan of Ch'i who achieved the hegemony in the seventh century ac (680-643 ac); biog. in *Shih chi* 62, pp. 2131-34. As a young man he had served Kung-tzu Chiu, a brother of the Ch'i prince Kung-tzu Hsiao-po who became duke Huan in 684 ac. When the throne of Ch'i became vacant in 684, Kung-tzu Chiu attempted to overthrow Kung-tzu Hsiao-po, but was defeated. During the battle Kuan Chung shot at duke Huan and hit him on his belt-buckle. For this he was thrown into prison, but was rescued and given employment on the recommendation of his friend Pao Shu-ya, who had been the new

vagrant.²⁹⁷ Yet²⁹⁸ T'ang of the Shang did not find [Yi Yin's] having been employed in preparing the royal food a cause for shame; and Chi Wen (Wen wang) did not think [T'ai-kung's] having been an [ox] butcher and a fisherman was a sign of disgrace. In the end²⁹⁹ [Yi Yin] proved capable of presenting a true model, and at Ching-hao there was a glorious beginning for the Yin court;³⁰⁰ while T'ai-kung [Lü Shang/Wang] wielded the commander's yak-tail banner on the field of Mu-yeh,³⁰¹ and the encounter was glorious for the house of Chou.³⁰² That Ch'i brought to fulfillment the task of restoring order and unity to the empire³⁰³ truly depended upon the advice of Kuan Chung (Father Chung). That the Han made the six quarters of the world into their own family³⁰⁴ was truly because they relied on the strategies of the Marquis of Huai-yin (i.e. Han Hsin).³⁰⁵

Thus, for a ship to sail across the ocean, it is necessary to depend upon the efforts of its oarsmen. For the wild swan³⁰⁶ to soar through the clouds, it is necessary to do this by using its wings and feathers. For a sovereign to rule his state³⁰⁷ it is necessary to depend upon the support

duke's tutor. He remained a very influential minister throughout his reign. For more detail see *Kuan tzu* 18; trans. W. Allyn Rickett, *Guanzi* (Princeton, Princeton U.P., 1985), pp. 289-94.

²⁹⁷ Han Hsin was originally an impoverished commoner who in the days following the collapse of Ch'in had served first Hsiang Yu, and later joined the Han. He was condemned as a result of some offense, but freed at the last moment, and subsequently deserted because no use was made of his strategies. He was saved again by Hsiao Ho and became one of the most influential strategists of Han Kao-tzu, although in the end he became involved in treasonable plots and was executed by the empress Lü; biog. in *Shih chi* 92, pp. 2609-30 (*SC/Watson* 1, pp. 208-32).

²⁹⁸ *Y* reads 然而; *Y* omits these two characters.

²⁹⁹ *Y* reads 卒; *Y* reads 終.

³⁰⁰ This refers to a crucial event in the ascent to power of king T'ang of Shang. Ching-po was "Northern Po," the place where T'ang assembled the feudal lords prior to ordering them to attack Wei and Ku, two states allied to king Chien of Hsia, at the suggestion of Yi Yin.

³⁰¹ The decisive battle in which king Wu, founder of the Chou, overwhelmingly defeated the army of the tyrannous king Chou of Shang.

³⁰² The phrase 會昌 here echoes *Book of Songs*, no. 236, "Ta-ming," which describes the battle and T'ai-kung's part in the victory; *Songs/Legge*, p. 436: "The field of Mu-yeh was spread wide./ Bright gleamed the chariots of tan-wood./ Teams of bays and white-bellied horses were at full gallop./ The Captain was Shang-fu./ He soared up like an eagle./ assisting that King Wu./ Swiftly he fell upon the great Shang./ The morning of the encounter was bright and clear." In *Ti-fan* here, *hui* 會 is certainly the encounter of the two armies; *ch'ang* 昌 may mean "was a glorious victory," but it may be a rewording of the ode's *ch'ing-ming* 清明 in the sense of "bright."

³⁰³ The term *i-k'uang* in this description of the accomplishment of duke Huan, aided by Kuan Chung, in establishing order in the empire as hegemon king, derives from *Kuan-tzu* 8/20, "Hsiao-k'uang" (trans. Rickett, *Guanzi* 1, p. 340): "Duke Huan said, '...nine times I have assembled the Feudal Lords, thereby bringing unity and order to the entire realm.'"

³⁰⁴ The phrase derives from Chia I's "On the Faults of Ch'in" ("Kuo Ch'in lun"), in *Wen hsüan* 51, p. 1110.

³⁰⁵ *Y* reads 憲報淮陰之策; *Y* reads 是 in place of 憲. Huai-yin was the name of the marquessate in which Han Hsin was finally enfeoffed.

³⁰⁶ *Y* reads 鴻鵠; *Y* reads 鴻鵠.

³⁰⁷ *Y* reads 治國; *Y* reads 為國.

given by his close assistants.³⁰⁸ Thus, he should exert himself to the utmost in seeking [worthy men], but in his employing them³⁰⁹ he should be relaxed. How can the possession of pearls whose brilliance is visible twelve chariot-lengths away,³¹⁰ or a pile of thousands of pieces of pure gold, compare to the abundance of having many officers, or to the great value of a single sage-worthy?³¹¹ This then is the high value to be placed upon the seeking of the right men [to assist you].³¹²

Section Four: Carefully Examine Candidates for Offices³¹³

The establishment of offices and the demarcation of their duties are the means whereby one expounds moral transformation and propagates good customs. Therefore, the enlightened ruler's employment of men is like the skilled carpenter's cutting timber: he makes a cart's shafts out of the straight timber and the wheels from the curved pieces; he uses the long timbers for rafters and ridgepoles and the short pieces for roof brackets and eaves-rafters. Without question, whether it is straight or curved, long or short, every piece of timber has some use to which it can be deployed.³¹⁴

³⁰⁸ See *Kuan-tzu* 9/22 ("Pa hsing"); trans. Rickett, *Guanzi*, pp. 348–49. The context has to do with duke Huan's ambitions to be hegemon, but his needing Kuan Chung to instruct him in it. Kuan Chung refused to answer the duke's marveling at the flight of wild swans, causing the duke to say: "Why don't you speak out? Isn't there some direction for me to take? My having you, Chung-fu is like those swans having wings."

³⁰⁹ *J* reads 任之則逸; *Y* reads 斯 in place of 則.

³¹⁰ This refers to a story in *Shih chi* 46, pp. 1891 (*SC/Chavannes* 5, pp. 250–51); see also *Han-shih wai-chuan* 10 (trans. Hightower, *Han-shih wai-chuan*, pp. 324–25). In 355 BC the king of Ch'i (a large and powerful state under the Chou dynasty) met the king of Wei (a smaller state). The latter inquired about the potentially large treasures Ch'i must have, if even little Wei had "pearls an inch in diameter, ten of which will light up a space of twelve chariot-lengths around." The king of Ch'i considered that his state had no such treasures, when treasures were to be thought of in that way. Ch'i's treasures, he explained, derived from the various famous Ch'i subjects who brought loyalty, peace, and devoted followers into Ch'i. "With these subjects I have lighted up a distance of a thousand *li*; what is there so special about twelve chariot lengths?"

³¹¹ *J* commentary cites Yang Ch'üan's 揚泉 "Wu-li lun 物理論" as the source: "A pile of a thousand pieces of pure gold is not like having a single sage." "Wu-li lun" in 16 *chüan* is listed among the Confucian works in *CTS* 47, p. 2025, and *HTS* 59, p. 1511. Yang Ch'üan was a Chin-period writer, whose work was an eclectic anthology of anecdotes and sayings from Han and Wei works. The *Y* commentary ascribes the same passage to the *Yü lin* 語林, a similar work compiled by the Chin author P'ei Ch'i 裴啟. Both works survive only in fragments: the former assembled by Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍, *Lung-ch'i ching-shih ts'ung-shu* 龍溪精舍叢書, vol. 81; the latter by Ma Kuo-han 馬國翰, *Yü han shan fang chi i shu* 玉函山房輯佚書 (Shanghai: Shanghai ku-chi, 1990), vol. 3, pp. 2799–815.

³¹² *J* reads 此求人之貴也; *Y* reads 此乃求賢之貴也, which would make the translation read, "This then is the high value to be placed upon the seeking of sage worthies [to assist you]."

³¹³ *Y* divides *Ti-fan* into four chapters: this and the two following sections, 5 ("Accepting Remonstrance") and 6 ("Ridding Yourself of Flatterers") constitute chapter 2.

³¹⁴ See n. 67, above.

The enlightened ruler's employing men is also like this.³¹⁵ From the wise he takes their counsel; from the foolish he takes their strength; from the valiant he takes their awesome majesty; from the cowardly he takes their prudence. Without distinction, every man alike, whether he is wise [or foolish], valiant or cowardly, can be employed.

Thus, just as the good carpenter throws no timber away, so the enlightened ruler³¹⁶ will not reject any of his scholar-officials. He should not overlook the good (qualities) of a man because of a single bad quality; should not cover up his solid achievements on account of one petty blemish.

In dividing up government and apportioning its apparatus, you should make complete use of all those you have. However, a tripod vessel large enough to cook an ox may not be disposed of to boil a chicken;³¹⁷ a mouse-catching wild cat cannot be employed to catch large wild beasts.³¹⁸ A vessel holding one *chün* (thirty *chin*) cannot contain the flow of the Yangtze or Han rivers;³¹⁹ a wagon with a capacity of a hundred bushels cannot be filled with grain from a rice-rinsing basket holding a single peck. Why is this? It is because the great cannot be measured by small measures; a light task is not a suitable employment for the heavy.

³¹⁵ *J* reads 明主之任人亦猶如是也; in *Y* the second clause reads 亦由是也, "also rests on the same principle."

³¹⁶ *J* reads 明君無棄士; *Y* reads 主 for 君.

³¹⁷ According to *J* commentary (A, p. 4b), the image of oversized implements refers to *Lü-shih ch'ün-ch'ü*. But the citation in the commentary does not match modern editions; see *Lü-shih ch'ün-ch'ü* 呂氏春秋 18/vii, sect. "Ying-yen" (Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng edn., vol. 6), p. 231: "If you use a Shih-ch'ü 市丘 (a city in Wei) cauldron to boil a chicken, if there is too much liquid then it will be tasteless and inedible. If there is too little liquid then it will be scorched and remain uncooked." *Hou Han shu* 80B, p. 2646, also cites this, replacing "Shih-ch'ü cauldron" with "ox-boiling cauldron." A more likely source is not the *Lü-shih ch'ün-ch'ü*, but a passage in *Huai-nan tzu* 淮南子 14, "Ch'üan-yen hsün" (Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng edition), p. 242: 函牛之鼎沸蠅蚋弗敢入 "When the ox-containing tripod is boiling, flies and gnats dare not enter."

³¹⁸ This may derive from *Huai-nan tzu* 9, "Chu shu hsün", p. 135; trans. Roger Ames, *The Art of Rulership: A Study in Ancient Chinese Political Thought* (Honolulu: U. Hawaii P., 1983), p. 189: "Analogously a wild cat cannot be made to pounce on an ox, and a tiger cannot be made to catch mice." But similar passages using the skill of cats in catching mice as an example of an innate but limited and specialized skill occur in *Chuang tzu* 莊子 17, "Ch'iu shui" (trans. Burton Watson, *The Complete Works of Chuang Tzu* (New York: Columbia U.P., 1968), p. 180): "Thoroughbreds like Ch'i-chi and Hua-lin could gallop a thousand *li* in one day, but when it came to catching rats they were no match for the wildcat or weasel – this refers to a difference in skill"; and in *Han Fei-tzu* 6, "Yang ch'üan" (translated W. K. Liao, *The Complete Works of Han Fei Tzu: A Classic of Chinese Legalism* [London: Arthur Probsthain, 1939, 1959] 1, p. 53): "Let roosters herald the dawn and let cats watch for rats. When everything exercises its special qualification, the ruler will not have to do anything."

³¹⁹ *Y* commentary cites as the possible source a passage from *Liu-tzu* 劉子. This work, also known as *Liu-tzu Hsin-lun* 劉子新論, usually is listed as in 10 *chüan*, as in most extant versions. There are also extant versions in one and two *chüan*. Until the end of Ming, beside the 10-*ch*.

Now the knowledge of men is in some cases short, in some cases long, their capabilities are in some cases great and in others slender. For some men, being responsible for a hundred items of business is still too few;³²⁰ for others, to control a single matter is too many.³²¹ There are men of light talents, who may not be entrusted with weighty employments. There are those of inferior wisdom,³²² who may not be entrusted with great tasks. If [the ruler] selects his subjects and grants them offices, and the subjects estimate themselves and accept their duties, then he will depute employments [to the right men] and hold the incumbents responsible for completing their tasks. Without undue effort, government will be transformed.³²³ This is the correct³²⁴ pattern for setting up officials.

These two principles ["Seeking Sage-Worthies" and "Carefully Examining Officials"] are the source of the distinction between good government and disorder. In establishing the state and controlling the people, [officials] provide the ruler's arms and legs, by means of which he brings together his strength. To spread good behavior and lead people to good customs, the ruler should await enlightened sages, and then commit his heart to them. Thus³²⁵ the serried constellations [heavenly warriors], as

they rise in the heavens, supplement the nighttime brilliance of the moon. The hundred streams break out and flow over the earth, augmenting the deep waters of the ocean. Even the sea's mass and the moon's brightness³²⁶ thus still borrow from other things to become still greater. The lord of men rules over his inferiors, unifies the supreme powers, controls the seasons.³²⁷ Yet if he wishes to exert his inch-square heart³²⁸ alone in order to embrace together all men within the nine provinces,³²⁹ unless he can depend upon the strength of a multitude [of others], how can he succeed in his task?

He must clearly understand the duties of officials, carefully examine the worthy, select the talented, allocate stipends. If he gets the right men, then customs and behavior will be transformed and will spread everywhere. But if he loses their employment, then the proper instruction of the people will be lost, and the people³³⁰ injured. The *Book of Documents* says, "[When an emperor knows men] then he is wise, and [even the emperor Yao] found this difficult."³³¹ This is something that really needs to be carefully considered.

Section Five: Accepting Remonstrance

Now the king occupies the highest place, and oversees his government from the depths of his seclusion (in the palace).³³² This impairs his clearly

version there was a 5-ch. in circulation. In 9th-c. Japan both versions, and yet another in 3 *chuan* are listed, without an author's name, in Fujiwara no Sukeyo's *Nihonkoku genzai sho mokuroku* (Kohase Keikichi edn.), p. 13. It is impossible to know which version is referred to by Y. Its authorship has been attributed to a variety of authors, including Liu Hsieh 劉勰 (c.465-522), author of *Wen-hsin tiao-lung* 文心雕龍, by CTS 47, p. 2033, and HTS 59, p. 1534; Liu Hsiao-piao 劉孝標 (462-521), author of the 120-*chuan* encyclopaedia *Lei-yuan* 類苑, and of a continuation of the *Shih-shuo hsin-yü* 續世說新語; and even to Liu Hsin 劉歆 (46 BC-23 AD) the author of the early bibliography *Ch'i-lueh* 七略. All these attributions are either impossible or implausible. The southern Sung catalogues of Ch'en Chen-sun, *Chih-chai shu-lu chieh-i'i*, and Ch'ao Kung-wu, *Chün-chai tu-shu shih*, both attribute it to the Confucian scholar Liu Chou 劉晔, who lived under the Northern Ch'i, on the basis of the preface to an edition with commentary by Yüan Hsiao-cheng 袁孝政, chief clerical officer of Po-chou 橫州 (in modern Kweichow) under the T'ang. The bibliographical chapter of *Sung shih* also follows this attribution. However, Liu Chou's biographies in *Pei Ch'i shu* 44, p. 589-90, and *Pei shih* 81, p. 2729-30, make no mention of this book among his writings, while Yüan Hsiao-cheng is otherwise unknown, and the extract from the preface cited by Ch'en Chen-sun does not fit with what is known of Liu Chou's life. The Ssu-k'u editors suggest that it may have been the work of another man with the same name. On this confused issue see *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao* 23, p. 2461-62; also Shao, *Ssu-k'u chien-ming mu-lu piao-chu* p. 509-10.

³²⁰ Y reads 或充百而尚小; Y reads 或蘊百而尚小: "For some men a hundred affairs gathered together will still be too few."

³²¹ Y reads 或統一而已多; Y replaces 已 with 為.

³²² Y reads 有劣智者不可責以大功; Y reads 有小力者不可賴以成職, which would make the translation: "There are those of small power, who cannot be relied upon to fulfill their duties."

³²³ Y reads 君擇臣而授官臣量己而受職則委任責成不勞而化; Y omits the first 13 characters.

³²⁴ Y reads 審; Y reads 當.

³²⁵ Y reads 是以列宿聯天; Y omits 是以.

³²⁶ Y reads 以海月之凝朗; Y reads 海月之深朗, which would translate: "Even the sea's depth and the moon's brightness..."

³²⁷ Y commentary (2, p. 5a) glosses this phrase with 人君在上臨下. 統總三極循理四時: "The lord of men resides above, looking down on those below. He unifies the 'three ultimates' and makes the four seasons orderly." The three ultimates or three supreme powers (*san-chi*), a term from the *Book of Changes*, are heaven, earth and man.

³²⁸ The term "inch-square" (*fang-t'ün* 方寸) is often used alone as a term for the heart, and underlines the smallness and isolation of the individual's heart and mind and the limitations of any single person or ruler's abilities.

³²⁹ The Nine Districts 九區 is synonymous with *chiu-chou* 九州, the "Nine Provinces," both terms referring to the traditional nine-fold division of the empire.

³³⁰ Y reads 民; Y reads 人.

³³¹ Y reads: 書曰 ("The *Book of Documents* says"); Y reads 故云 ("Therefore it is said"). Y commentary identifies the *Book of Documents* portion as "Kao-yao Mo" 2 (*Documents/Legge*, p. 70; *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 8). Y commentary (2, p. 5b) cites the same passage in its head-note to the chapter title (2, pp. 1a-b). *Ti-fan* does not, however, cite the text fully or correctly. *Documents* reads: "Kao-yao said, 'Oh! It lies in knowing men, it lies in giving peace to the people.' Yü said, 'Alas, to attain to both these things was difficult even to the emperor Yao. When a sovereign knows men, he is wise, and he can put men into their proper offices...'" The *Ti-fan* text uses only the two pairs of characters italicized, and reverses their sequence, but in doing so obliquely refers to a key canonical passage stressing the necessity of the sovereign appointing the appropriate person to each post.

³³² Sakata, *Teihan*, pp. 154-55, draws attention to a passage in *Liu t'ao* 9, "Shang hsien" (Kam-

hearing³³³ [about events], and stops him from clearly seeing [what is happening]. He is afraid that, if there are faults committed, he will not hear of them, and frightened that, if there are deficiencies in government, nobody will repair them. For this reason the petitioner's drum (*t'ao*) was set out, and the complainants' tree planted.³³⁴ He should give careful thought both to the policies that are accepted and to those that are declined, and will listen to proposals carefully with an open mind (that is, with no preconceptions): this is the way in which he should stand and await loyal and just counsel.

Whatever is said that is right, even though it comes from servants or slaves, grass cutters and firewood gatherers, still may not be rejected;³³⁵ while anything that is said that is wrong, even if it comes from princes or marquises, great ministers or chancellors, may certainly not be tolerated.³³⁶ Counsel

bun taikei edn., p. 20): 夫王者之道如龍首高居而遠望深視而審聽; trans. Sawyer, *Seven Military Classics* (p. 50), "Now the Tao of the king is like that of the dragon's head. He dwells in the heights and looks out far. He sees deeply and listens carefully." *Liu t'ao*'s point is that he is inscrutable to his subjects and his enemies. "He displays his form but conceals his nature. He is like the heights of Heaven which cannot be perceived. He is like the depths of an abyss, which cannot be fathomed." T'ai-tung, however, is making a different point: 深 refers to the emperor's residing in and ruling from the "nine-fold seclusion" 九重 of his palace, commonly described as the depths of his dragon's palace, 龍宮.

³³³ *J* reads 聰; *Y* reads 聰.

³³⁴ *J* and *Y* commentaries cite a passage from *Yü tzu* 鬻子: 禹之治天下也縣五聲以聽曰語寡人獻訟者揮紹也. "When Yü ruled over the world, he had the five sounds hung up, saying, 'Anyone who wishes to plead a case with ourselves should strike the *t'ao* drum.'" The *Yü tzu* was an ancient text attributed to Yü T'ai 鬻熊, an adviser of king Wen of Chou, and traditionally the oldest of the "philosophers." The present texts going under this name have been reconstructed from fragments quoted in Chia I's *Hsin shu* and in *Lieh-tzu*. It is unclear what the text available in the 7th c. was like. The T'ang catalogue of 720 that forms ch. 46-47 of *Chiu Tang shu* includes it under the "Hsiao-shuo chia" (*CYS* 47, p. 2036); *HTS* 59, p. 1514, lists it under the "Tao chia."

I very much doubt, however, whether this was the passage that T'ai-tung had in mind. A much more likely source is *Huai nan tzu* 9/7 (Chu tzu chi-ch'eng edn., 1953), p. 149. Several other portions of this chapter are also cited in this section of the *Ti-fan*. The text reads: 故堯置諫鼓舜立誹謗之木湯有司直之人武王立戒慎之銘; trans. Ames, *Art of Rulership*, p. 204: "Thus Yao set up a drum for those offering bold admonition; Shun established a noticeboard for criticisms. T'ang instituted an independent judicial authority, and King Wu provided a small drum to forewarn him against rashness." All these became traditional means by which people under later dynasties could draw the attention of the ruler to abuses or misgovernment without fear of punishment.

³³⁵ *J* reads 不可棄; *Y* adds 也.

³³⁶ This passage clearly derives from the same sect. 9 of *Huai nan tzu* ("Chu shu"; see n. 334): 使言之而是雖在褐夫窮巷猶不可棄也使之而非雖在卿相人君論策廟堂之上未必可用; Ames, *Art of Rulership*, p. 190: "Even when counsel comes from a rudely clad bumpkin or woodcutter, if it is sound it should not be disregarded. Even when it comes from the prime minister or ruler of a state issuing policy from the ancestral temple, if the counsel is unsound it should not necessarily be followed."

that is worthy of attention³³⁷ [should be looked at] without criticizing [its authors] over their precise details; policies that are fit for use should be adopted without demanding eloquence of style from their authors,³³⁸ so that they should be like "the broken railing"³³⁹ or "the smashed lattice"³⁴⁰ that was left displayed as a sign (symbol) to provide a constant warning [for the prince]; or like the acts of "plucking the emperor's sleeve"³⁴¹ or "pulling back [the concubine's] seating mat"³⁴² that made his own faults manifest to the ruler.

³³⁷ *J* reads 其議可觀; *Y* reads 義 in place of 議. I adopt *J* in spite of the preference expressed for Yin Lo Chen-yü's collation notes.

³³⁸ This derives from the continuation of the *Huai nan tzu* 9 passage cited above (see n. 334): 其言可行不責其辭; Ames, *Art of Rulership*, p. 190: "As long as his counsel can be implemented, he does not demand eloquence of him."

³³⁹ *J* reads 折檻壞牆; *Y* reads 懷 instead. The "broken railing" refers to an incident under Han Ch'eng-ti (r. 33-7 BC). Chu Yün 朱雲, a former-knight errant who had become a Confucian versed in the *Book of Changes* and the *Analects*, complained bitterly to the emperor about the ineffectual government of the day, and asked to be given a "horse-beheading sword" from the imperial manufactories, so that he could "execute one imperial favorite to encourage the others." His intended target was the emperor's former tutor and holder of the highest offices and confidence. The emperor ordered Chu Yün to be executed. But as Chu was being taken away, he grasped the handrail, which broke. In the end, a general intervened for Chu and reminded the emperor that he had merely been offering straightforward counsel. Ch'eng-ti relented and Chu Yün lived to a ripe old age. The emperor ordered that the broken handrail be left as it was as a permanent reminder of his fault. See *Han shu* 67, p. 2915; *TCTC* 32, p. 1633, dates this to 12 BC.

³⁴⁰ *Shuo yüan*, "Chün tao," tells of the master musician Shih Ch'ing 師經, who, remonstrating with Marquis Wen of Wei about his arrogance, threw his zither at the marquis. He missed, but the zither broke the lattice of a window. Afterwards the marquis regretted what he had done, and kept the broken lattice as it was, to remind him of his fault.

³⁴¹ This refers to a passage in *San kuo chih* 三國志 (Peking: Chung-hua, 1959) 23, pp. 696-97. Wen-ti of Wei (r. 221-26) planned to resettle 100,000 households of officers (*shih-chia* 士家) from Chi-chou 冀州 (Hopei) to populate Honan, in spite of current problems of starvation. Court officials protested, but this only made the emperor more determined. Hsin Pi 辛毗 and others sought an audience, but Wen-ti knew that they wished to admonish him and received them with an angry face, so that none of them dared speak. Hsin Pi said, "Your Majesty wishes to move these families. Where did this plan come from?" Wen-ti replied, "You are saying that my moving them is wrong?" Hsin Pi replied, "I truly consider it is wrong." The emperor said, "We will not discuss it with you." Hsin Pi said, "Your Majesty cannot consider me morally deficient, since you appointed me one of your entourage, and made me a member of your counselling officials. How can you not discuss the matter with me?" The emperor rose to leave, but Hsin Pi followed him and plucked his sleeve. The emperor pulled back his clothes and did not turn back. After a long while he came out and said, "...what is so important that it made you grasp me?" Hsin Pi replied, "If you now move these families, you will have already lost the hearts of the people, and in addition they will have nothing to eat." As a result, the emperor in the end moved only half of the families.

³⁴² This refers to a story in *Shih chi* 101, p. 2740; *SC/Watson* 1, pp. 521-22: "Emperor Wen (r. 180-157 BC) was once visiting the Shang-lin Park, accompanied by the empress and his favorite concubine, Lady Shen. In the inner palace the empress and Lady Shen usually sat together on identical mats. When they were to be seated [in the park] the officer in charge spread the mats, but Yüan Ang pulled back the mat on which Lady Shen was to be seated. Lady Shen was angry,

For this reason,³⁴³ the loyal will express what is in their hearts to the last drop, and the wise will present their policies in their entirety. Subjects will not block off the true situation from [the ruler] above; and the prince will be able to spread his light everywhere over [his subjects] below.

The unenlightened ruler³⁴⁴ will not act thus. Those who offer him their opinions he will reject with awesome force; those who offer him exhortations he will reduce to extremity by punishments. Great officials, worried about keeping their salaries, will not offer remonstrance. Small officials, in terror of being executed, will not speak up. Such rulers will abandon themselves to their violent and cruel hearts; pursue their absurd and vain ambitions to the utmost extreme. They will erect barriers [to advice and information], and then have no means to know for themselves [what is going on among the people]. They will consider that their own virtue outstrips that of the three divine rulers of antiquity, that their talents surpass those of the five sage emperors [of ancient times], yet, in the end, they will bring about their own death, and their kingdoms will be extinguished. Is this not pitiable?³⁴⁵ Such is the evil resulting from rejecting remonstrance.

Section Six: Ridding Yourself of Flatterers

The company of flatterers and sycophants are "the grubs and weevils"³⁴⁶ of the state: they greedily struggle for honors morning and night, vie with one another for power at court and for their own profit in the marketplace. Because of their fawning manner, they resent that the worthy and loyal should be placed above them; because of their harboring false and

and would not sit down. The emperor was also angry, got up, and went back into the palace. Ang subsequently explained his action to Wen-ti. 'I have heard that only when the appropriate order of status distinctions is established, will superior and inferior be in harmony. Now Your majesty has already set up an Empress, and Lady Shen is a concubine. How can a concubine and her mistress sit together side by side; this will destroy their proper status distinction. Your majesty has favoured Lady Shen, and lavishly rewarded her. Your Majesty believes you are doing this for Lady Shen, but it may become the means of destroying her. Is Your Majesty alone in not having seen the 'human pig' (i.e., Kao-tsu's favourite concubine Lady Ch'i, who had been mutilated by the Empress Lü)? The emperor was pleased with his explanation, and explained to Lady Shen, who presented Yüan Ang with 50 *chün* of gold."

³⁴³ *J* reads 故忠者; *Y* reads 故云忠者.

³⁴⁴ *Hun chu* 昏主, like the term *an chu* 暗主 used elsewhere in *Ti-fan*, means an ignorant or blind ruler who has not been enlightened, to contrast with the enlightened ruler 明主 [王].

³⁴⁵ *J* reads 其不悲矣; *Y* reads 哉 in place of 矣.

³⁴⁶ This refers to *Book of Songs*, no. 212: *Songs/Karlgren*: "We remove the noxious insects (*ming-t'z* 螟蛉) from the ears and leaves, and the grubs (*mao-tsei* 蟊賊) from roots and stems; may they not damage the young grain of our fields."

evil ambitions,³⁴⁷ they resent³⁴⁸ that others may obtain riches and high position before them. Forming cliques, they support one another [in their evil ambitions], and there is no place so deep that they cannot penetrate it. Partisan and unable to grasp broader principles,³⁴⁹ they work with one another, and there is no place so high that they cannot ascend to it. "With an insinuating appearance and fine words"³⁵⁰ they gain themselves intimacy with the ruler. "They anticipate [the ruler's] will and accept his instructions,"³⁵¹ in order to gratify their prince.

Because of this,³⁵² although he had a thousand officers at his court, it was only after Duke Chao [of Sung] had been driven from his kingdom that he suddenly became aware [of the cause].³⁵³ Although his bow did not really have a pull of nine *shih*, King Hsüan, to the end of his life, did

³⁴⁷ *J* reads 懷其姦邪之志; *Y* omits first two words.

³⁴⁸ *J* reads 患; *Y* reads 恐, "they fear others will achieve riches and honor before themselves."

³⁴⁹ *Pi chou* 比周 is a reference to *Analects* 2/14; *Analects/Legge*, p. 150: "The superior man is catholic and no partizan. The mean man is a partizan and not catholic." *Analects/Waley*, p. 91, is more clear: "A gentlemen can see a question from all sides without bias. The small man is biased and can see a question only from one side." This definition "biased and able to see questions only from one side" is linked with the members of cliques in *Hsün tzu* 13/1 (see Wang Hsien-ch'ien, *Hsün tzu chi-chieh* (Chu-tzu chi-cheng edn.; Peking: Chung-hua shu ch'ü, 1954), p. 164; trans. John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* (Stanford: Stanford U.P., 1988-94) 2, p. 198: "They (sham ministers) are not loyal to their lord, but are expert at extracting praise from the people. They care nothing about the impartial Way, or about the universal principles of justice. Rather, they are intimate with, and partisan toward, their friends and cronies, and by deceiving the ruler they devote themselves to scheming for their private interests." *Huai nan tzu* (see n. 334) uses similar language: "The members of cliques are partisan without being able to take other views into consideration, and each promotes the interest of his associates."

³⁵⁰ This refers to *Book of Documents*, "Kao yao mo" (*Documents/Legge*, p. 70); *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 8: "What fear need there be in regard to smart talk, a fine appearance [and great artfulness]." This phrase was perhaps more familiar through its use at the very beginning of *Analects* 1/3 (*Analects/Legge*, p. 139); *Analects/Waley*, p. 84: "'Clever talk and a pretentious manner' are seldom found in the good."

³⁵¹ This is a reference to *Li chi* 21, sect. "Chi i" 10; *Rites/Legge*, 2, p. 226: "What the superior man calls filial piety requires the anticipation of our parents' wishes, and the carrying out of their aims and their instruction in the path of duty." Here *T'ai-tung* means that sycophants serve their prince as a filial son serves his parents, but purely out of self-interest. *Ti-fan*'s 旨 "the ruler's will" replaces 意 "parents' wishes" of the original.

³⁵² *J* reads 是以; *Y* omits these.

³⁵³ *J* reads 去國而方悟. *Y* reads 不 in place of 方, thus "Even after Duke Chao had been driven from his kingdom, he was still unaware [of how he had been misled]."

There is a problem over the identity of Duke Chao 昭公 here. The commentary to *J* cites *Iso chuan* and identifies him as Duke Chao of Sung. There were in fact two dukes of this name. One, with the personal name Ch'u-chiu 杵臼, was murdered by his people (*Iso chuan*, Wen 16; *Iso/Legge*, p. 275; *Iso/Cow*, 1, pp. 536-39). The other is mentioned in *Iso chuan*, Ai 26 (*Iso/Legge*, p. 859; *Iso/Cow*, 3, p. 761-62). He was one of two sons of Kung-sun Chou 公孫周 who were adopted by the childless Duke Ching 景公. Their personal names were Ch'i 啟 and Te 得. It was the latter who is referred to here. The relevant story does not come from the *Iso chuan*, but appears in the *Hsin shu* 8, p. 9a, and in *Han shih wai chuan* 6.11 (trans. Hightower, *Han-shih wai*).

not know this.³⁵⁴ As a case of driving a wedge between close kin on account of distant relatives, there was the disaster caused by I Li in Sung;³⁵⁵ as a case of the destruction of the just on account of the depraved, there was the execution of Hsi Yüan in Ch'u.³⁵⁶ These were cases of stupid rulers and incapable princes being deluded by such people;³⁵⁷ of injustice that might make one weep being brought upon a loyal subject (Hsi Yüan) and a filial son (Tso, the heir-apparent of Sung).³⁵⁸ Thus, when the crowded orchids are about to grow luxuriantly, the autumn wind destroys

chuan, p. 200: "Of old Duke Chao of Sung went into exile. He said to his charioteer, 'I know how I lost (my state).' The charioteer said, 'How?' Duke Chao said, 'When I put on my clothes and stood up, every one of the several tens of attendants said, "Our ruler is elegant!" Whenever I spoke or did anything, every one of the several hundreds of court ministers said, "Our ruler is a sage!" Inside [the court] and out I never saw my faults, and this is how I lost my state.'"

³⁵⁴ *J* reads *Hsüan wang* 宣王; *Y* reads 寧一, which the *Ssu-k'u* editors dismiss as a mistake in transmission. I cannot offer any better explanation. The commentary to *Y* refers to a story in *Yin wen tzu*, "Ta tao A" (Chu tzu chi ch'eng edn., 1953), p. 6: "King Hsüan loved archery, and took delight in other men speaking of his own ability to use a powerful bow. The pull of the bow he really used did not exceed three *shih*. He showed it to his attendant courtiers, who all drew and tested it, but stopped before they had drawn it to the full. Every one of them said, 'Its pull is not less than nine *shih*, who could use this bow except for our great king!' King Hsüan was delighted. Thus the bow King Hsüan actually used was not more than three *shih*, but to the end of his life he believed it to be nine *shih*. Three *shih* was the reality, but nine *shih* was the name. King Hsüan took pleasure in the name, but put the reality out of his mind." This passage is also cited with assorted variants in *Pei t'ang shu ch'ao* 125, p. 4b; and in *T'ai-p'ing yü-lan* 389, p. 4b, which identifies the king in question as King Hsüan of Ch'i 齊. Sakata, *Teikan*, p. 167, takes him to have been King Hsüan of Chou.

³⁵⁵ This refers to a complex story in *Iso chuan*, Hsiang 26; *Iso/Legge*, p. 525; *Iso/Couv.* 2, pp. 457-460. I-li 伊戾 was a eunuch at the court of the Duke of Sung. He hated the heir-apparent Ts'uo 痤 to whose service he was attached. When an old acquaintance of the heir-apparent arrived from Ch'u, the prince took him to entertain him in the country. I-li asked if he could accompany them, and faked evidence to show that the two men had made a blood oath. He rushed back and revealed this to the duke, and accused the heir of plotting the king's death. The duke had the heir imprisoned. The heir said that the only person who could prove his innocence was his half-brother Tso 佐. The duke gave him until next midday to give evidence, but another of the plotters detained Tso until the deadline had passed. The heir then strangled himself. Later the Duke discovered he had been innocent, and had I-li boiled alive.

³⁵⁶ This refers to the death of Hsi Yüan 郈宛, as related in *Iso chuan*, Chao 27; *Iso/Legge*, p. 722; *Iso/Couv.* 3, pp. 424-25. Hsi Yüan was an upright and popular official in Ch'u who aroused the enmity of two fellow officials Yen Chiang-shih 欒將師 and Fei Wu-chi 費無極. The Chief Minister Tzu-ch'ang 子常 was a corrupt man who easily gave credence to slander. Fei Wu-chi slandered Hsi Yüan to him. Fei then told Hsi Yüan that the chief minister wished to visit and drink with him. Hsi Yüan replied that his rank was too low to permit him to entertain the chief minister, and asked how, if the chief minister was determined to demean himself by visiting him, would he be able to repay such an honor. Fei said that the chief minister was fond of armour and weapons, and asked to see what Hsi had in his armory so that he could choose some pieces to display as gifts for the chief minister's visit. Hsi had them laid out in a tent by the gate. Fei then warned the chief minister not to go, and warned him that Hsi Yüan had weapons and armour prepared, and planned to kill him. As a result he ordered his troops to attack and burn Hsi Yüan's mansion. Hsi committed suicide and all his clan were killed.

³⁵⁷ *J* reads 以之; *Y* reads 之所.

³⁵⁸ *J* reads 忠臣孝子所可泣冤; *Y* reads 之 for 所.

them. When a true king wishes to become enlightened, flatterers will obscure his clear perception. Such is the peril from evil sycophants.

These two things ["Rejecting Remonstrance" and "Giving Acceptance to Flatterers"] are the fundamental ways in which the clear perception of the ruler can be obscured.³⁵⁹ As the polisher and whetstone for your own conduct, nothing is better than loyal advice. To destroy virtue and subvert the ruler's mind, nothing is worse than fawning flatterers. Now the appearance of [these] men is the same as the eyelashes:³⁶⁰ although they are so close to the eyes, one cannot see them for oneself. How much more is this the case, when right and wrong reside in formless shapes; how can one perceive them for oneself?

Why is this? Everyone who adorns their appearance can understand what they look like by peering into the bright mirror, but those who cultivate their virtue do not know how to call upon the wise [to act as their mirrors]. They reject the good and make themselves foolish.³⁶¹ How extremely are they deluded?

This certainly comes about because words which grate upon their ears are difficult to accept, while opinions which are agreeable to their hearts are easy to follow. Advice that offends the ears is bitter to swallow, like [good] medicine. Opinions easily followed are sweet to the taste, like poisoned wine.³⁶² Therefore, if the enlightened king accepts remonstrance,³⁶³ his sickness can be dispelled, even though [the medicine] is bitter. But if the ignorant ruler follows the suggestions of sycophants, his life will be brought to destruction, even though [the poison] is sweet to the taste.

Can you fail to heed this warning? Can you fail to heed this warning!³⁶⁴

³⁵⁹ Following *J*: 昏明之本也; *Y* reads 危國之本也: "the fundamental way in which the state can be imperilled."

³⁶⁰ *Y* commentary cites a passage by the Southern Sung author Lü Tsu-chien, explaining that 目際 are 目睫, the eyelashes, which are too close for the eye to discern. This citation is one clear piece of evidence that the commentary to *Y* cannot be either of the T'ang commentaries.

³⁶¹ Following *J*: 拒善自愚; *Y* reads 詎自庸愚, thus "How foolish they make themselves."

³⁶² *Y* commentary cites a passage in *Iso chuan*, Min 1: 晏安耽毒不可懷也; *Iso/Legge*, p. 124, translates: "Luxurious repose is a poison, which should not be cherished." The *chen* 鴆, "a bird with poisonous plumage," in the text of *Ti-fan* is cognate with 醢 "poisoned wine." The reference, however, does nothing to explain the sense of the passage, which is self-evident.

³⁶³ *J* reads 故明王納諫; *Y* omits first word.

³⁶⁴ *J* reads 不可誠哉; *Y* repeats it for emphasis.

Section Seven: Guarding against Excess³⁶⁵

Now the true ruler will practice frugality to nourish his nature, and seek tranquility in order to cultivate his individual self. If he acts frugally, then his people³⁶⁶ will not be overburdened; if he practices tranquility, then his subjects will not be harassed. If the people are overburdened, resentment will arise; if the subjects are harassed, then government will become perverse.³⁶⁷

If the lord of men loves strange skills and lascivious sounds,³⁶⁸ fierce birds of prey and savage wild beasts; if he travels around for pleasure without due moderation, or if he engages in hunting out of season;³⁶⁹ then levies of labor will be multifarious. If labor levies are multifarious, then the people's strength will be exhausted.³⁷⁰ If the people's strength is

³⁶⁵ In the four chapter arrangement of the text in *Y* this and sections 8 and 9 form chapter 3.

³⁶⁶ *Y* reads 儉則民不勞; *Y* reads 人 in place of 民.

³⁶⁷ This whole section and the next are largely based on passages from *Huai nan tzu* 9 (see n. 343). The first paragraph here comes from section 9 in the division of this lengthy essay established in his translation by Ames, *Art of Rulership*, pp. 186–87 (p. 138 of the *Chu tzu chi-ch'eng* text): "The Way of the ruler is to cultivate his person by dwelling in quietude and to lead his subjects with frugality and moderation. If he is quiet, his subjects are not disturbed; if he is frugal his people will have no cause to complain. Should his subjects be disturbed it would mean political disorder; should his people have cause to complain it would mean that his bounty is not generous."

³⁶⁸ This probably refers to *Li chi*, "Wang chih" 4/16; *Rites/Legge* 1, p. 237: "Using licentious music; strange garments; wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements, thus raising doubts among the multitudes: all who used or formed such things were put to death." However such references to unusual, disturbing, and pointless innovations abound. See for example, *Book of Documents*, "T'ai shih" 3/3, describing the evil deeds of Shou king of Shang (*Documents/Legge*, p. 295 [not included in Karlgren]): "He makes contrivance of wondrous device and extraordinary cunning, to please his woman." There are also many instances of "lascivious music" such as *Analekts* 15/11 (*Analekts/Waley*, pp. 195–96), where the music of Cheng is said to be licentious and should be done away with.

³⁶⁹ This does not refer to taking game during prohibited seasons to preserve stocks, as in our own society, although such rules existed in ancient China. Here it refers to the great hunts organized by the king as part of his ritual calendar of activities. See *Li chi*, "Wang chih" 2/22; *Rites/Legge*, p. 220: "When the son of Heaven and the princes have no (special) business in hand, they had three huntings in the year. The first was to supply the sacrificial dishes with dried meat; the second to provide for guests and visitors; and the third to supply the ruler's kitchen." These hunts were held at recognized times, set so as to avoid interfering with agriculture, and especially in autumn to avoid disturbing the gathering of the harvest. T'ai-tung himself was devoted to hunting, sometimes endangering his own life, to the consternation of his attendants. In 640 he was chided by a lowly local official, Liu Jen-kuei 劉仁軌, when he was going to hunt at Li-yang in the tenth month before the harvest was completed, on the grounds that "his was not a business that the Lord of Men ought to undertake." He promptly cancelled the hunt, and appointed Liu magistrate of the county as a reward. See *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* 10 (Harada edn., p. 296).

³⁷⁰ This may be a reference to *Han Fei tzu* 17, "Pei nei" (*Han Fei tzu chi shih*, 1958, p. 290), as the commentary to *Y* (p. 2b) suggests, but the context is quite different, and the idea is such a commonplace one that I can see no real connection.

exhausted, then the livelihood of the farmers and merchants³⁷¹ will thereby be destroyed.³⁷²

If the lord of men loves lofty terraces and deep pleasure-pools,³⁷³ carved and chiselled work, or pearls, jade, and precious curios; embroidered robes and the finest linen and ramie fabrics;³⁷⁴ if his tastes are like these, then taxes will be onerous. If taxes are onerous, then the material wealth of the people will be exhausted.³⁷⁵ If the material wealth of the people is exhausted, then the disasters of famine and cold will arise as a result.

Lords of an age of misgovernment will take their arrogance and extravagance to the extremes; will give full rein to their insatiable desires. They will clothe the wood and earth [of their buildings] with silk and embroideries [*ti-hsiu*]³⁷⁶ while their people have not enough cloth to make

³⁷¹ *Y* reads 則農商之業廢焉; *Y* reads 則農桑廢焉, thus "... then the farmers and sericulturists would be destroyed."

³⁷² Here again the vocabulary derives from *Huai nan tzu* 9 (see n. 343); Ames, *Art of Rulership*, p. 187: "If the ruler has a penchant for predatory birds and ferocious animals, rare and exotic things, enjoys horses and hunting and takes to the field at whatever time he pleases, then the duties of his bureaucracy will be thrown into disorder and there will be little material wealth in spite of hard work, the people will be miserable and distressed and their way of livelihood will go untended."

³⁷³ 高臺深池 is a well-established cliché for extravagant construction work undertaken for a ruler's personal pleasure. See, e. g., *Tso chuan*, Chao 20, *Tso/Legge*, p. 683: "If they meet with a ruler abandoned to excesses... following his desires and satisfying his private aims, raising lofty towers and digging deep ponds, surrounding himself with the music of bells and with dancing girls, consuming the strength of his people and violently taking from them their accumulations of wealth... the priests and historiographers, in setting forth the truth must speak of his offences." (Cf. *Tso/Cowp.* 3, p. 321.)

³⁷⁴ 黼黻絺綌 is taken by T'ai-tung from *Huai nan tzu* 9, but the commentary to *Y* (p. 3a) refers to a passage in *Book of Documents*, "I chi"; *Documents/Legge*, p. 80, which was probably the ultimate source of the expression (with last word given as 黼). Legge's translation is far from clear, but the passage is a description of the various multi-colored motifs embroidered on the formal ritual garments of ministers. *Fu* 黼 was a pattern shaped like an axe; *fu* 黻 was a pattern like two bows standing back to back. On the basis of this passage, the commentary to *Y* suggests that the character *hsi* in the text should be replaced by *hsiu*, as in the *Book of Documents*.

³⁷⁵ *Y* reads 賦歛重則民財匱; *Y* reads 賦歛重則人才匱. These variant readings are repeated at the beginning of the next sentence. The *Y* reading gives us: "If the imposition of taxes is onerous, the abilities of the people will be lost. If the abilities of the people are lost, the disasters of cold and hunger will arise."

Once again this passage derives from *Huai nan tzu* 9; Ames, *Art of Rulership*: "Where the ruler is fond of high pavilions, deep ponds, sculptured and engraved ornamentation, beautifully colorful patterns, fine linen and embroidery, precious stones and jewels, then his taxes will be exorbitant, and the energies of the common people will be utterly depleted."

³⁷⁶ This refers to wall-hangings, draperies and similar furnishings, a familiar evidence of an over-lavish life-style.

a whole short gown of coarse cloth.³⁷⁷ Their hunting hounds and horses will be glutted with hay and feed grain, while the people will be forced to eat the lees from wine making and will still not have sufficient. Hence, men and spirits alike will seethe with resentment and indignation; and ruler and ruled will become totally alienated. Before their idle pleasures are ended, [such rulers] will already be in mortal danger.

These are the fears that arise from arrogance and extravagance.

Section Eight: Esteem Frugality

The rulers of the ages³⁷⁸ of saint kings preserved themselves by moderation and frugality. While their noble status and riches grew extensive and great, these rulers kept control by their own moderation. While they were supremely perspicacious, wise, intelligent and perceptive, they kept control by exercising simplicity.³⁷⁹ They did not act arrogantly towards their people on the grounds of their own honored status; they did not boast to the people on account of the abundance of their own virtue. The thatch on their roofs remained untrimmed, their buildings were constructed of rough, unhewn timbers. Their boats and carriages were not decorated, their clothing was of plain unpatterned fabrics. The entrance steps to their dwellings were not high; the great meat broth [used in their sacrificial offerings] was unseasoned.³⁸⁰ This was not because they loathed splendor and hated flavored food: it meant that they lived in the most simple style and practised frugality. Because of this [their people's] customs were pure and simple, their behavior plain and unadorned. [The people of] adjoining houses were fit to be ennobled.³⁸¹ Such was the virtue of their moderation and frugality.³⁸²

³⁷⁷ *J* reads 而民粉褐不全; *Y* reads 人爲民. The item here is a short tunic of coarse cloth, the normal clothing of the lowly and poor.

³⁷⁸ *J* reads 夫聖代之君; *Y* reads 夫聖世之君.

³⁷⁹ *Y* commentary says that this sentence was quoted from *Wen tzu*.

³⁸⁰ This passage too is based rather loosely upon *Huai nan tzu* 9. The passage describes the ideal times of Yao: 是故茅茨不翦采椽不斲大路不畫越席不緣大羹不和荼食不穀 "Thus it was that his roofing thatch was not trimmed, his rafters were not cut and finished, his royal carriage was not ornamented, his mats were not hemmed, his pottage was not seasoned, and his grain was unpolished. ... Surely it was not that the lifestyle of the emperor would be anything but enjoyable but that he took the whole empire for the sake of the empire and not because he derived any personal benefit from it..." (Ames, *Art of Rulership*, p. 187).

³⁸¹ *Y* commentary gives *Shi chi* as the origin of the phrase 比屋可封. It occurs in several Han period works, *Han shu*, *Lun heng* (*Lun heng chu shih* [Peking, 1979], p. 107); and *Hsin lun* as a phrase descriptive of the golden age of Yao and Shun, when thanks to the all-pervading example of the ruler all the people deserved to be ennobled for their good morality.

³⁸² *Y* omits the sentence 此節儉之德也.

These two things [guarding against excess and esteeming frugality] are the ultimate causes of honor and disgrace. Luxury and frugality arise from individual people; their safety or peril is caused by themselves. If [the ruler's] five sense organs are closed to what is near about him, his excellent virtue will be overflowing afar.³⁸³ If the thousand desires attack you like a sickness within, then the seeds of disaster will erupt outside. Thus if moths [lay their eggs] within red cassia, in the end its radiant fragrance will be destroyed;³⁸⁴ if the red flames are enveloped in smoke, then eventually they will be prevented from rising to the clouds.

Therefore³⁸⁵ we know that arrogance comes from the will; if it is not checked then the will itself will be subverted. Desires are born from the heart; if they are not curbed, then the body will die. Thus Chieh and Chou gave their feelings free rein, and disasters gathered around them: Yao and Shun kept themselves in check, and their good fortunes were prolonged.

Is it possible not to pay careful attention to this!

Section Nine: Rewards and Punishments

Now Heaven's nurturing of living beings is like the ruler's controlling the multitudes. Heaven uses heat and cold as its effective power: the ruler makes humanity and love the instruments of his heart and mind. Once heat and cold are attuned [to the proper seasons], then the times will not endure sickness and pestilence.³⁸⁶ But if the wind and rain do not come at the right time of year, then the year will be one of famine and dearth.³⁸⁷ If humanity and love are bestowed upon [the people] below, then men will not be emaciated and exhausted. But if in his instruction the ruler loses the appropriate measure, then his governance will suffer perverse errors.³⁸⁸

³⁸³ *J* reads 則令德遠盈; *Y* reads 則嘉命遠盈.

³⁸⁴ *J* reads 終摧蠹日之芳; *Y* reads 榮耀爲蠹日.

³⁸⁵ *J* reads 故知; *Y* reads 以是知.

³⁸⁶ See *Iso chuan*, Chao 1; *Iso/Legge*, pp. 573, 580-81.

³⁸⁷ *J* reads 則歲有飢荒; *Y* reads 則歲有饑寒, which would yield: "then the year will be one of hunger and cold."

³⁸⁸ The general meaning of 教令失度則政有乖違 is slightly problematic. *Chiao-ling* is taken by Sakata, *Teihan*, presumably following the commentary to *J*, to relate at least obliquely to the monthly orders (*Yüeh ling* 月令), which ensured that the seasonal activities of the ruler kept in phase with the annual rhythms of nature. If the ruler ordered activities appropriate to another season, and these correspondences fell out of phase 失度, all sorts of natural disasters and then social breakdown and political disorder would result. For examples of what such results might be, see *Li chi*, "Yüeh ling"; *Rites/Legge*, pp. 249-310. The example selected by the commentary to *J* is in *ibid.*, p. 257: "If in the first month of spring the governmental proceeding proper to summer were carried out, the rain would fall unseasonably, plants and trees would decay premature-

To guard against the causes of harm,³⁸⁹ and to open up the source of benefits, [the ruler] must make the punishments clearly known, so as to deter [offenders] by awe, and he must make the rewards plainly known, so as to transform the people [by example]. Once the awesome nature of punishments is established, evildoers will be afraid to offend. Once transformation has been put into practice, the good will be encouraged. If someone acts in accordance with the will of the ruler, but so as to impede the Way, do not give him any emoluments. If someone acts in opposition to the ruler's own will, but in a way advantageous to the state, do not impose any punishment upon him. Thus those who to the ruler's own will, but in a way advantageous to the state, do not impose any punishment upon him. Thus those who are rewarded will not feel grateful to their lord,³⁹⁰ for [the reward] will have been brought about as a result of their own achievements. Those who have suffered punishment will not feel resentful toward the ruler, because [their punishment] will have matched their crime.³⁹¹

Therefore the *Book of Documents* says, "Without deflection, without

ly, and the states would be kept in continual fear. If the proceedings proper to autumn were carried out, there would be great pestilence among the people, boisterous winds would work their violence, rain descend in torrents, orchard, fescue, dandelion and southernwood would grow up together. If the proceedings proper to winter were to be carried out, pools of water would produce their harmful effects, snow and frost would prove very injurious, and the first sown seeds would not enter the ground."

Ycommentary, however, takes *chiao-ling* in another sense, citing a passage from *K'ung ts'ung tzu* 孔叢子: 賞罰是非相與曲謬雖十黃帝不能治也言若教令失度政必乖違而刑罰不中。則民無所措手足。故蹈于不法者矣。如此若非賞罰不能制矣。"If reward and punishment and right and wrong are incorrectly related to one another, even ten Yellow Emperors could not produce good order. This means that if the instruction given to the people has lost its right measure, the government will certainly be perverse and wrong. If punishments are not correctly imposed, the people will have no secure handhold or footholds, (that is no secure norms on which to rely) and therefore many will be tread in the path of law-breaking. If things are like this, and if rewards and punishments are administered wrongly, it will be impossible to control [the people]." I cannot locate this passage in the fragmentary texts of *K'ung ts'ung tzu*. However, it seems to fit the context better here than a somewhat cryptic reference to the "Yüeh ling."

³⁸⁹ 防其心害源; Formits 心. I follow Lo Chen-yü's collation note, p. 5a, which treats it as a superfluous interpolation.

³⁹⁰ For this somewhat unusual verbal use of 德, see, e.g., *Tso chuan*, Hsi 24; *Tso/Legge*, p. 192: 夏狄伐鄭取櫟。王德狄人將以其女為后。"In summer the Ti invaded Cheng and took Li. The king, feeling grateful for their service, was minded to make the daughter of their chief his queen." *Tso/Couv.* 1, p. 362, renders this "Le roi leur fait reconnaissance comme d'un bienfait." See also Ch'eng 3: 然別德我乎; *Tso/Legge*, p. 352, "Then, do you feel grateful to me?"; cf. *Tso/Couv.* 2, p. 37.

³⁹¹ Ycommentary cites as the source of these two sentences a lost passage from *Wen tzu*: 賞者不德上功之所致也。功當故不以為德... 誅者不怨君罪之所當，故不以為怨。"Wen-tzu said 'Those who have been rewarded do not feel grateful to the emperor, it is the consequence brought about by their achievements, therefore they do not consider it a reason for gratitude. ... Those

partiality, grand is the royal path."³⁹² This is the balance [the ruler must keep] between reward and punishment.

*Section Ten: Giving Due Attention to Agriculture*³⁹³

Food is the Heaven for the people,³⁹⁴ and agriculture the essential basis for good government. If the granaries are full, the people know the rules of propriety and moderation. If food and clothing are deficient, then they will forget all feelings of integrity and shame.³⁹⁵ Therefore the ruler must himself plough the first furrow in the Eastern Suburb,³⁹⁶ and reverently

who are executed (or punished) feel no resentment towards their lord, it is the appropriate response to their crimes. If the punishment matches the crime then they do not consider it something about which to feel resentment."

³⁹² Quoted from *Book of Documents*, "Hung fan" 14: 無偏無黨王道蕩蕩，無黨無偏王道平平，無反無側王道正直; *Documents/Legge*, p. 331: "Without deflection, without partiality, Broad and long is the Royal Path; Without partiality, without deflection, The Royal path is level and easy. Without perversity, without one-sidedness, The Royal path is straight and right." *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 32, translates: "Have nothing onesided, nothing partial, the king's way is smooth and easy; Have nothing partial, nothing one-sided the King's way is well arranged; have nothing deflected, nothing perverse, the King's way is straight." This citation would certainly have made the educated reader recall the sentence which follows 會其有幾歸其有極; see *Documents/Legge*: "Seeing this perfect excellence, Turn to this perfect excellence"; cf. *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 32: "If you bring together those who have correctness, then they will turn to the one who has correctness (that is, the ruler)."

³⁹³ In the four-chapter arrangement of the text in Ythis and sects. 11 and 12, together with the section I have headed "Postface," form chapter 4.

³⁹⁴ Ycommentary cites *Tso chuan*. A similar expression is in Li Shih-ch'i's 鄭食其 biog. in *Han shu* 43, pp. 2105-10; see p. 2108: "I have heard that one who understands the heaven of Heaven may achieve the royal task, while one who does not know the heaven of Heaven cannot achieve it. A true king takes the people as his heaven, while the people take food as their heaven." In this context "heaven" *t'ien*, means "something on which they must totally rely," or "that on which their fate ultimately depends." The word 本, "essential basis," in the next clause has a similar meaning; that as the people rely on an adequate food supply, so the government which is responsible for them relies basically upon agriculture that supplies their needs. *Cheng-kuan cheng-yao* 8.30, pp. 240-41, cites, under the same title "Wu-nung" an address delivered to his courtiers by T'ai-tung in 627, "Every sort of business should pay due attention to that which is fundamental to it. Thus for the state, its people are this basic concern; for the people, clothing and food are their basic concern."

³⁹⁵ The source of this passage is the opening of the first chapter of *Kuan-tzu*, "Mu-min" 1.1; trans. Rickett, *Guanzi*, p. 52. The second half of *Kuan-tzu*'s statement "When [the people's] clothing and food is adequate, they will know [the distinction between] honor and shame 榮辱," has been modified by T'ai-tung in the text of Y to read, "If their clothing and food is deficient, they will forget all feelings of integrity and shame 廉恥." However Y follows *Kuan-tzu* more closely: "If their clothing and food is sufficient, they will set their minds on integrity and shame."

³⁹⁶ This refers to the ceremonial ploughing by the emperor of the first furrow which marked the beginning of spring and of the agricultural year and was, together with the empress's ceremonial tending of silkworms a ritual personal affirmation of the primary importance of agriculture. It is described as part of the observances of the first month of spring in *Li chi* 4, "Yüeh-ling" 13; *Rites/Legge* 1, pp. 254-55; also *Li chi* 22 "Chi-t'ung" 5; *Rites/Legge* 2, p. 239. In "Chi-t'ung,"

give out the correct seasons (that is, promulgate the agricultural calendar) to the people.³⁹⁷

If the state does not have reserve stocks sufficient to last for nine years there will be insufficient to provide preparation against flood or drought.³⁹⁸ If a family does not have a year's supply of clothing, it will not be enough to guard against cold or warmth. Even though this is so, everyone "wears their ox at their girdle and their calf as belt pendants,"³⁹⁹ throwing away their true strength to seek the false, striving after meretricious workmanship,⁴⁰⁰ and by so doing destroy the basis of agriculture

however, the Son of Heaven performed this ceremony in the southern suburb, and it was the feudal lords who performed a similar rite in the eastern suburbs of their capital. See the magisterial study of this ritual by Derk Bodde in his *Festivals in Classical China* (Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1975), pp. 223-41, and especially pp. 227-28. It seems that although the Former Han performed the ceremony on a sacred field south of Ch'ang-an, the Later Han did so to the east of Loyang, following the Kung-yang school of exegesis. The east was identified in correlative thinking with spring. Hence the term 東作 (eastern work, i.e., spring work) used for agriculture. The Sui had observed the ceremony south of the capital; the T'ang reverted to the eastern location, as the result of a decision made by T'ai-tung himself, in contradiction to the view of K'ung Ying-ta 孔穎達 that it was a breach of the ancient rites. He based himself on a somewhat fanciful stretched interpretation of a sentence in the *Yü shu* 虞書 (that is, *Book of Documents*, "Yao-tien" 4; *Documents/Legge*, pp. 18-19; *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 3), in which Yao "ordered Hsi Chung 羲仲 to reside in Yü-i at a place called Yang-ku 陽谷, to receive as a guest the rising sun, and to arrange and regulate the 'works of the east.'" For this response and later T'ang observance of the ritual spring ploughing see *CTS* 24, pp. 912-14.

³⁹⁷ See *Documents/Legge*, p. 18: "Thereupon Yao commanded Hsi and Ho, in reverent accordance with [their observation of] the wide heavens, to calculate and delineate the [movements and appearances of] the sun, the moon, the stars and the zodiacal spaces; and so to deliver respectfully the seasons to the people." *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 3, renders it, "and then he charged Hsi and Ho reverently to follow the August Heaven and calculate and delineate the sun, the moon and [the other] heavenly bodies (i.e., the stars and constellation) and respectfully give the people the seasons." *Y* reads 敬授民時; *Y* reads 敬授人時, as does the received text of the *Book of Documents*.

³⁹⁸ This refers to a well-known passage in *Li chi*, "Wang chih" 2.28; *Rites/Legge*, p. 222: "If in a state there was not accumulated [a surplus] sufficient for nine years, its condition was called one of insufficiency; if there was not enough for six years, one of urgency. If there was not a surplus sufficient for three years, the state could not continue. The husbandry of three years was held to give an overplus of food sufficient for one year; that of nine years, and overplus sufficient for three years. Over a span of thirty years, though there might be bad years, drought and floods, the people will not be pallid from hunger."

³⁹⁹ Literally "wear their calf at their belt, and their ox as belt-pendants." This is a reference to a story in Kung Sui's 裴逸 biog. in *Han shu* 89, p. 3640. Sui was sent to govern Po-hai. He saw that the customs of the people of Ch'i were extravagant and wasteful; they loved trivial skills, and did not labour in the fields. He therefore personally led them to practise frugality and restraint, encouraged the people to devote themselves to agriculture and sericulture. He ordered each person to plant one elm tree, a hundred stems of large leeks, fifty roots of onions, and a plot of scallions. Every family was to rear two sows and five chickens. Any of the people who wore a sword or sabre at his girdle was ordered to sell his sword and buy an ox, and sell his sabre to buy a calf, saying to them "Why wear your ox on your girdle, and your calf as a belt-pendant!"

⁴⁰⁰ Following *J*, 棄堅就偽求伎巧; *Y* has 棄堅就偽求仕一之利, which would read: "Throwing away their true strength in pursuit of the false, seeking to make a profit of one part in ten."

and sericulture. If a hundred people have to be fed by the farming of one man, the damage that is done is far more profound than that of an infestation of crop-destroying caterpillars.⁴⁰¹ It would be far better to prohibit vain ornament completely, and encourage the people⁴⁰² to apply themselves to ploughing and weaving, causing the people to return to their basic occupation, and their customs to revert to true simplicity.⁴⁰³ Then they will vie with one another to embrace the ideas of humanity and righteousness, and forever cut themselves off from the paths of greed and cruel violence. This is the basic motive for giving due attention to agriculture.

These two things (that is, regulating punishments and rewards, and giving due attention to agriculture) are both devices to regulate the people's customs.

If you are to rear up the black-haired common people as if they were your own children,⁴⁰⁴ you must avail yourself of both awe and benevolence. If they can cherish your benevolence, then erroneous customs will be replaced by correct practices like the frost dispersing in the spring sunshine. If the people stand in dread of awesome punishment, then all in our central kingdom will fearfully conform to the right standards as if walking on a knife's edge while enduring a violent thunderstorm.⁴⁰⁵

Certainly both awe and benevolence should be imposed together. If both the hard and the soft are employed "the punishments will be merely depicted and [the people] will not offend,"⁴⁰⁶ and "[the people will know

⁴⁰¹ This is a reference to the *Shang chün shu* 1.3, p. 9a (trans. J. J. L. Duyvendak, *The Book of Lord Shang* (London, 1928), p. 191: "Now, if one man tills and a hundred live on him, it means that they are like a great visitation of caterpillars." A precise identification of *ming* 螟 is not possible. The gloss to *J* says that it was an insect or larva that destroyed the hearts of the stalks of sprouting grain, which explanation goes back to *Shuo wen* and *Erh ya*. It is translated by modern dictionaries as the larva of the moth *Chilo simplex*. It is commonly used in early texts as a figure of speech for the depredations of minor agents of government.

⁴⁰² *J* reads 民; *Y* reads 人.

⁴⁰³ This is a reflection of Pan Ku's "Rhapsody on the Eastern Capital," ll. 270-75; trans. Knechtges, *Wen Xuan* 1, pp. 169-70, and nn.

⁴⁰⁴ *Y* commentary draws attention to a passage in *Han shu* (mistakenly called *Han shih* 漢史), the beginning of a speech by Pao Hsüan 鮑宣: "Your majesty, serving Heaven as his father, and serving earth as the mother, rears the common people as if they were his own children" (*Han shu* 72, p. 3091).

⁴⁰⁵ *Y* commentary draws attention to the use of similar imagery in a policy essay by Hsün Hsiü 荀勗 (d. 289), minister under Chin Wu-ti: "On reducing the number of subaltern officials in local administration and sending them to work in agriculture" 議省州郡縣半吏以赴農功, which is cited in *Chin shu* 39, pp. 1154-56. There is, however, no close textual parallel, and it seems little more than a coincidental use of rather well-worn images, the bright sunshine for the ruler's benevolence, the thunder and lightning for his awesome use of violent deterrence.

⁴⁰⁶ *Y* commentary calls this a reference to an edict issued by Han Wu-ti in 134 BC; *Han shu* 6,

that] there will be no cheating over the [reward money offered for] moving the pole."⁴⁰⁷ Once rewards and punishments have been made clear, good and evil will be distinguished from one another. If both humanity and good faith are publicly manifested, then the people far and near will be settled in their hearts.⁴⁰⁸

If the harvests are diligently gathered in, and strict attention is paid to farming, the disasters of hunger and cold will be prevented; if extravagance is curbed, and magnificent display forbidden, the benefits of plentiful production will increase. Thus, the transformation of his subjects by a true prince will be like the wind making the grass bend before it.⁴⁰⁹ But if the

p. 160; trans. *HS/Dubs* 2, pp. 35–36: "We have heard that when, formerly in the [time of] T'ang [Yao] and Yü [Shun], the rulers merely portrayed [the mutilating punishments by] likenesses [of those punishments in the criminals' clothing], the people did not commit crime" 昔在唐虞畫象民不犯。It is, however, equally close to another edict, issued in 42 BC by Yüan-ti (*Han shu* 9, p. 288 (*HS/Dubs* 2, p. 320: "Verily, We have heard that when T'ang [Yao] and Yü [Shun] employed punishments [which merely portrayed the likenesses of the mutilating punishments in criminals' clothing], the common people did not transgress" 唐虞象刑而民不犯。Dubs gives a lengthy appendix (pp. 123–25) on this mythical practice from antiquity. The earliest references to this practise are in *Book of Documents*, "Shun-tien" 11: 象以典刑; *Documents/Legge*, p. 38: "He gave delineations of the statutory punishments"; cf. *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 5: "He made a (delineation) a full description of the legal punishments"; and in *Book of Documents*, "Yü Chi" 1.8; *Documents/Legge*, p. 86: "And now Kao-yao is respectfully carrying out your arrangements, and employing the represented punishments 象刑 with entire intelligence." Dubs cites *Hsün tzu*, who believed this was nothing but a myth. But it was widely credited in Han times; mentioned in the "Monograph on Law" in *Han shu* 23 (see A. F. P. Hulsewé, *Remnants of Han Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1955), p. 329, and p. 365, n. 108: "in the heyday of the Three Dynasties the punishments were established (but not used)"; also *Po hu t'ung* (see Tjan, *Po hu t'ung* 2, p. 604.

⁴⁰⁷ This is a reference to Lord Shang's biog. in *Shih chi* 68, p. 2231. "When Shang Yang's first major reforms had been drawn up but not yet promulgated, he feared that the people would not trust their being enforced. He therefore set up a wooden pole thirty feet high at the southern gate of the market of the capital, and invited the people saying that anyone able to move it to the northern gate would be given ten pieces of gold. The people marvelled at this, but nobody dared move it. Then he said again that anyone able to move it would be given fifty gold pieces. There was a man who moved it, and he was straightaway given fifty gold pieces to make it clear that there was no deception. After this was done, the statutes were promulgated." Ycommentary cites the *Shih chi* passage as its source. The commentary to *J* cites this same story as from the *Ch'un-ch'iu hou-yü* 春秋後語. This cannot be correct. The work is listed in the *HTS* bibliography (57, p. 1440) as by Lu Ts'ang-yung 盧藏用, however, Lu lived 664–713, and was thus not yet born when the *Ti-fan* was written. Lu's biogs. are in *CTS* 94, pp. 3000–4; *HTS* 123, pp. 4374–75, but they make no mention of the authorship of *Ch'un-ch'iu hou-yü*.

⁴⁰⁸ The locus for *chai-hsin* 宅心 is the *Book of Documents*, "Ta-ko" 5.9; *Documents/Legge*, p. 386: "Again, you must more remotely study the old accomplished men of Shang, that you may establish your heart and know how to instruct the people." Legge takes *chai* in the sense of 處, "to settle the mind." *Documents/Karlgren*, pp. 38–40, translates this quite differently, taking *chai* in the sense of 度, "measure, comprehend": "You should grandly and far think of Shang's old and accomplished men, comprehend their minds and understand their instructions." But in early-T'ang the term was understood in the traditional sense of "settle the mind."

⁴⁰⁹ This refers to *Lun-yü* 12/19; *Analepts/Waley*, p. 169: "The essence of the gentleman is that of

ruler does not regulate his own heart, many of his subjects will go against his will. If the prince does not restrain himself, and yet tries to prohibit the people from doing wrong, it will be like being incensed about the burning of a fire and adding more firewood in the hope of stopping it blazing, or like being angry that a pool is muddy and stirring it up into waves in the hope that this will make it flow clear. It is simply impossible to accomplish. It is much better first to correct yourself. Then the people will be transformed without your uttering a word."⁴¹⁰

Section Eleven: Reviewing Preparations for War⁴¹¹

Weapons and armor are the baleful instruments of the state.⁴¹² Even if his territories are extensive, if the ruler loves warfare then his people will be weakened.⁴¹³ Even if his kingdom is at peace, if the ruler neglects warfare then his people will be endangered.⁴¹⁴ Being weakened is not a method for preserving the whole: being endangered is not a method for dealing with invasion.⁴¹⁵ Warfare cannot be totally abandoned, nor is it something that should be regularly employed. Therefore in the slack seasons for agriculture military matters should be expounded,⁴¹⁶ and martial ceremonial practised. After three years of training, the various ranks will be

the wind; the essence of the small people is that of grass. And when the wind passes over the grass, it cannot choose but bend."

⁴¹⁰ *Lun yü* 13/6; *Analepts/Waley*, p. 173: "If the ruler himself is upright, all will go well even though he does not give orders."

⁴¹¹ This section is quoted in its entirety in *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* 9, sect. 34, pp. 266–67. It is identical with the text of *J* except that wherever *min* occurs, it is substituted by *jen*, to observe the taboo on the use of T'ai-tsung's personal name, as was mandatory when Wu Ching compiled the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* under Chung-tsung in the early eighth century. The term 閱武, like 閱兵, means to ensure that the state is prepared for war, and that troops are armed, exercised, and given experience through manoeuvres.

⁴¹² The locus is *Tao te ching* 31; *Lao-tzu/Lau*: "Arms are instruments of ill omen, not the instruments of the gentleman." It was, however, a commonplace phrase in such pre-Han texts as *Kuo yü* and *Lü-shih ch'un-ch'iu*. In *Han Fei tzu* 2, "Tsun Han," it appears in a maxim, "Weapons are baleful instruments, and may not be employed without great caution." The same phrase occurs in a letter addressed by Chu-fu Yen 主父偃 to Han Wu-ti in 134 BC, protesting against the campaigns then being mounted against the Hsiung-nu. See *Shih-chi* 112, p. 2954; also *Han shu* 64A, p. 2799.

⁴¹³ *J* reads 好戰則民彫; Yreads 人爲民.

⁴¹⁴ *J* reads 忘戰則民殆; Yreads 亟戰則人殆, which yields: "If the ruler is anxious to go to war, his people will be endangered." This section closely parallels a passage in the *Ssu-ma fa*, "Jen-pen" (*Kambun taikei* edn.) 1, p. 3; trans. Sawyer, *Seven Military Classics*, p. 126: "Therefore, even if your country is vast, if you enjoy war it will certainly perish: Even if the empire is at peace, if you forget about war it will certainly be endangered." This same section of the *Ssu-ma fa* is also quoted in Chu-fu Yen's letter to Han Wu-ti; see *Shih chi* 112, p. 2954; and in *Shuo yüan* (KHCPTS edn.) 15, p. 145.

⁴¹⁵ This phrase comes from *Liu-tzu hsin-lun* 8, sect. 41 "Yüeh wu," pp. 3b–4a.

⁴¹⁶ *J* reads 故以農隙講武; Yomits 以.

properly differentiated.⁴¹⁷

For this reason Kou Ch'ien (King of Yüeh) bowed to the front bar of his carriage [to show respect to a belligerent frog in the road],⁴¹⁸ and so eventually succeeded in becoming a hegemon king, while King Yen of Hsü abandoned military strength, and in the end⁴¹⁹ lost his state.⁴²⁰ Why was this? Yüeh practised the awesome might of arms, while Hsü neglected to make any military preparations.⁴²¹ Confucius said, "To fight when your people⁴²² have not been instructed is to be called abandoning them."⁴²³ Thus we know that one establishes awesome power with bow

⁴¹⁷ *J* reads 三年治兵辨等列也; *Y* omits this sentence. These two sentences derive from a passage in *Tso chuan*, Yin 5; *Tso/Legge*, p. 19: "In accordance with this there are the spring hunting, the summer hunting, the autumn hunting, and the winter hunting: all in the intervals of husbandry, for the illustration of the one great business of States, (that is, warfare). Then every three years there is the grand military review; when it is over, the troops are all led back; and their return is announced by the cup of spirits in the temple: all to take reckoning of the accoutrements and spoils; to display the various blazonry, to exhibit the noble and the mean; to distinguish the observance of order and ranks; to show the proper difference between young and old; to practise the various observances of discipline." See also *Tso/Cow*, I, pp. 30-31.

⁴¹⁸ *J* commentary says this refers to a story in *Wu-Yüeh ch'un-ch'iu* (see *The Concordance to the Wuyuechunqiu* (Hong Kong: Commercial Press, ICCS Concordance Series, 1993) 10, p. 46, ll. 22-24: "[Kou Chien, King of Yüeh] saw a frog in the road which was blowing out its belly with rage as if it had the spirit of wanting to fight. He bowed to his carriage bar to pay respect to it. Some of his troops asked the king, 'Why does our lord pay such respect to this mere frog and bow to your carriage bar towards him?' Kou Chien replied 'I have been waiting a long time for signs of rage among my soldiers, and there has not yet been one of you who has accorded with what I wish [to see.] Now this frog, a creature devoid of knowledge, on seeing his enemy is filled with the spirit of rage. That is why I bowed to my carriage bar.' After this all the officers of his state loved martial valour."

⁴¹⁹ *J* reads 終以喪邦; *Y* reads 遂 in place of 終, yielding: "Consequently lost his state."

⁴²⁰ *J* commentary refers to a story in *Shuo yüan* 15, "Chih wu," p. 145. Wang-sun Li 王孫厲 said to King Wen of Ch'u 楚文王: "King Yen of Hsü 徐偃王 loves the Way of humanity and righteousness, and thirty two feudal lords of Han-tung have all submitted to him. If our king does not attack him, Ch'u will also be forced to serve Hsü." The King said, "If he truly possesses the Way, then [Hsü] cannot be overcome." He answered, "for the great to overcome the small, for the strong to overcome the weak is like a great fish swallowing smaller fish, or a tiger eating a sucking pig. How can they not be able to prevail?" King Wen of Ch'u in the end raised an army, attacked Hsü and destroyed it. When King Yen of Hsü was about to die he said: "I relied upon civil virtue, and did not understand the necessity of military preparedness; I loved to practice the Way of humanity and righteousness, and did not understand the hearts of deceivers. Those Kings of Antiquity, they must have made their military preparations, mustn't they!"

⁴²¹ *J* reads 徐忘其備也; *Y* omits 也.

⁴²² *J* reads 民; *Y* reads 人.

⁴²³ The quotation is from *Analekts* 13/30 (*Analekts/Legge*, p. 275). *Analekts/Waley*, p. 179, translates: "To lead into battle a people that has not first been instructed is to betray them." T'ai-tung eliminates the word 以 at the beginning; without it, it almost suggests, "Not to teach the people warfare is to be called betraying them." Moreover in the context of the *Ti-fan* it is natural to assume that the instruction meant training in the arts of war, whereas Confucius certainly meant instruction in civil virtues; the preceding sentence, "Only when good men have instructed a people for seven years ought there to be any talk of engaging them in warfare," makes this clear.

and arrow in order to benefit the empire.⁴²⁴ This is the right reason for employing the military.

Section Twelve: Honoring Learning

"After victory has been obtained, music should be performed: when government has been established, the rites should be set up."⁴²⁵ The rise of the rites and music takes *ju* learning as its basis. To broaden customs and to guide common practices nothing excels written literature (*wen*). To propagate instruction and teach the people, nothing is better than study.⁴²⁶ By following written culture one makes the Way resplendent; by making use of study one can make oneself glorious. Unless you have looked down into a deep ravine you cannot know the thickness of the earth;⁴²⁷ if you have not roamed around in literature, you will not recognize the well-springs of wisdom. Thus, if you have selected and gathered together bamboo shafts from Wu, until you have sought feathers [to flight them] they will not become fine [arrows].⁴²⁸ And however intelligent and perceptive a man's nature may be, without accumulated study it remains imperfect. For this reason the Hall of Enlightenment (Ming-t'ang) was built, and the Moated Enclosure (Pi-yung) set up,⁴²⁹ within which [the emperor

⁴²⁴ This is a reference to *I ching*, sect. "Hsi-tz'u chuan" B; *Changes/Wilhelm*, p. 574: "The men of ancient times strung a piece of wood for a bow and hardened pieces of wood in the fire for arrows. The use of bow and arrow is to keep the world in fear. They probably took this from the hexagram of opposition (K'uei 睽)." *Changes/Lynn*, p. 79, translates (referring to the governance of the Yellow Emperor, Yao, and Shun): "They strung pieces of wood to make bows, and whittled others to make arrows. The benefit of bows and arrows was such that they dominated the world. They probably got the idea for this from the hexagram K'uei [Contrariety]."

⁴²⁵ See *Li chi* 17 "Yüeh chi"; *Rites/Legge* 2, pp. 101-2: "When the (ancient) kings had accomplished their undertakings, they made their music (to commemorate them); when they had established their government, they framed their ceremonies."

⁴²⁶ See *Li chi* 16, "Hsüeh chi" 2: 王者功成作樂, 治定制禮; *Rites/Legge* 2, p. 82: "If he [the ruler] wishes to transform the people and perfect their manners and customs, must he not start from the lessons of the school?"

⁴²⁷ *J* commentary identifies this as a quotation from *Hsün tzu* 1.2, "Ch'üan-hsüeh"; trans. Knoblock, *Xunzi* 1, pp. 135-36: "In broadening his learning, the gentleman each day examines himself so that his awareness will be discerning and his actions without excess. Truly if you do not climb a high mountain, you will be unaware of the height of the sky. If you do not look down into a deep gorge, you will be unaware of the thickness of the earth. If you have not heard the words inherited from the Ancient Kings, you will be unaware of the greatness of learning and enquiry."

⁴²⁸ *J* reads 非括羽不美: "Until you have sought feathers [to flight them] they will not be fine [arrows]." *J* reads 苦 in place of 括, giving, "Until they are provided with arrow-heads and flights of feathers they will not be fine [arrows]."

⁴²⁹ The reestablishment of a Hall of Enlightenment on the model of antiquity was a constantly debated ritual issue in early T'ang times. See Howard J. Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk* (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1985), pp. 195-211, and the further discussion in Antonino Forte, *Mingtang*

or] could broadly read the opinions of the hundred philosophers, and investigate the six categories of canonical writings⁴³⁰ in the utmost detail. Those emperors were able to control the empire without actually governing it; and to review past and present while engaged in non-action. Those who set in flight splendid reputations, soaring aloft with their burgeoning achievements, and shining brilliantly throughout the empire without decay, are only those who have done so on account of their learning.⁴³¹ Such is the rationale for honoring literature.⁴³²

These two principles (Inquiring into military matters, and honoring learning) are to be applied by the state side by side. When the "long ethers" (fortelling war) envelop the land, victory or defeat are decided by the weapons' point. When great waves threaten to engulf Heaven,⁴³³ success or oblivion is decided by the outcome of a single engagement. At such times⁴³⁴ men will place the highest value on shield and lance, and little value on the schools. But when we reach an era when the seas and border peaks are already enjoying quiet, when the waves and dust of battle have already calmed down, we can cease the awesome exercise of the seven military virtues,⁴³⁵ and instead display the grand transformation wrought

by the nine perfections.⁴³⁶

At this juncture⁴³⁷ we may consider lightly armor and helmet, and give weight to the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Documents*.

Thus we know that the literary and the military are two paths, neither one of which may be discarded. According to the circumstances of the times either may be suitable or unsuitable; each has its appropriate [conditions for employment]. How can one do away with either the military officer or the Confucian scholar?

[Postface]⁴³⁸

These twelve matters provide the grand outline for an emperor or king. His safety and peril, success or destruction, all depend on these things!⁴³⁹ The ancients had a saying, "It is not that knowing is difficult, only that

and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock (Rome, 1988). There was no Hall of Enlightenment in T'ai-tung's lifetime. Although Kao-tung ordered one to be set up in 651, soon after T'ai-tung's death, no Hall was actually built until the reign of Empress Wu in 686-89.

⁴³⁰ The *liu i* 六藝, Six Arts, are usually defined, as confirmed in the commentary to *Yi*, as the gentleman's required accomplishments: Ritual (*li*), Music (*yueh*), Archery (*she*), Chariot-driving (*yu*), Writing (*shu*), and Calculation (*shu*). Sakata, *Teihan*, p. 229, however, suggests that in this context *liu-i* may well be used in the sense of the six categories of canonical writings, the *Rites*, *Music*, *Documents*, *Songs*, *Changes*, and the *Spring and Autumn Annals*. It is used in this sense as one of the categories of literature in Liu Hsin's *Ch'i yüeh*, and the six categories are further defined in *Shih chi* 126, p. 3197. "The Rites restrain the people; music gives expression to harmony; the Documents expound public affairs; the Songs make one's meaning explicit; the Changes express the numinous transformations; The Spring and Autumn Annals express righteous conduct." I follow Sakata in adopting this second interpretation, as in this sense *Liu-i* as the canonical writings is a more satisfactory complement to the *pai-chia*, "the hundred philosophers."

⁴³¹ *Y* reads 光於天下不朽者其唯為學乎; *Y* omits 天下 and 為, thus giving, "Those who shone brilliantly without decay were only those with learning."

⁴³² *Y* reads 此崇文之術也; *Y* reads 此文術也.

⁴³³ This reflects the language of the *Book of Documents*, "Yao tien" 11, describing the Great Flood, 浩浩滔天; *Documents/Legge*, p. 24: "Threatening the Heavens with their floods"; *Documents/Karlgren*, p. 3: "Vastly they swell up to Heaven." Earlier in the same passage 滔天 is also taken by Karlgren to be used by Yao to describe the recalcitrant nature of Kung Kung 共工: "He is in appearance respectful, but he swells up to Heaven."

⁴³⁴ *Y* reads 當此之時; *Y* reads 當此之際, giving "at such a juncture."

⁴³⁵ "Seven Virtues" here refers to a passage in *Tso chuan*, Hsüan 12; *Tso/Legge*, p. 320, in which the Viscount of Ch'u says, "Military might prevents violence, stops warfare, preserves the greatness of the state, firmly establishes one's achievements, brings peace to the people, harmonizes

the masses, and enriches their possessions. ... Military might thus has seven virtues. I have none of them." See also *Tso/Coureur* 1, pp. 636-37.

⁴³⁶ The *Chiu kung* 九功 (Nine Perfections) were the civil analogue of the Seven Military Virtues. These two terms held great importance for T'ai-tung, in his perception of legitimizing imperial authority, and were the titles given to two of the most awesome and significant dances performed at his court on ceremonial occasions. The *Ch'i-te wu* 七德舞 was the greatest military piece in the state repertoire, first performed in 633. Its words and music were based on a piece celebrating T'ai-tung's victories called the *Ch'in wang po-chen yüeh* 秦主破陳樂 ("The Prince of Ch'in Smashes the Enemy's Formations"), which had been composed by his troops in 620 while he was still a general. Shortly after his accession to the throne, in the first month 627, it was rearranged and performed at court, and in 633 rewritten as a vast spectacular ballet, with 128 dancers dressed in armour and carrying weapons, whose movements simulated battle formations. It was first performed at a great banquet held at the Hsüan-wu Gate, the site of T'ai-tung's coup d'état in 626, in the presence of many envoys from foreign peoples. See *THY* 33, pp. 612-13; *T'ung tien* 146, p. 761c; *CTS* 29, pp. 1059-61; *TFYK* 569, pp. 8a-b; *HTS* 21, pp. 467-68; *YH* 107, pp. 21a-25a.

The *Chiu-kung yüeh* was a "civilian" dance based on a poem composed by T'ai-tung himself in late 632, when, in conscious imitation of the actions of the Han and Later Han founders, he visited his birthplace, the Ch'ing-shan Palace 慶善宮, on the north bank of the Wei river west of the capital and feasted the local elders. The circumstances are described in the excellent article by Hellmut Wilhelm and David R. Knechtges, "T'ang T'ai-tung's Poetry," *Tang Studies* 5 (1987), p. 10 ff. The ballet set to his poem was danced by a troupe of boys. See *CTS* 29, p. 1060.

These two pieces were performed on great state occasions, and the convention arose that the audience, including the emperor, always stood for their performance, and following a suggestion by Wei Cheng, the emperor always averted his eyes while the *Ch'i-te wu* was performed, but was allowed to watch the *Chiu-kung wu*, to symbolize the fact that his days of military conquest were over, and had given way to a period of civil rule. See *THY* 33, pp. 612-13; *TCTC* 194, p. 6101.

⁴³⁷ *Y* reads 當乎此際; *Y* reads 當此之際.

⁴³⁸ The subtitle "postface" (*Hou hsu*) does not appear as a heading in either text of *Ti-fan*, both of which treat this section as an integral part of the text. However, *YH* 28, p. 26b, cites extracts from this last section under the title of Preface (*Hsiu*) to the *Ti-fan*, while *CTW* 10, pp. 13a-14a, includes the whole section as a separate piece entitled *Ti-fan Hou-hsu*.

⁴³⁹ *Y* reads 皆在茲乎; *Y* reads 咸在茲焉.

putting it into practise is not easy.⁴⁴⁰ Putting it into practise can be achieved with hard effort, but it is only bringing it to a conclusion that is truly difficult."⁴⁴¹ For this reason, even violent and misgoverning rulers do not have a clear understanding of only the paths of evil. Can saintly and wise lords only be seen following the path of goodness? This is truly because the great Way is distant and hard to follow, while the path of evil is close at hand and easy to tread upon. Inferior men all submissively follow the easy option,⁴⁴² and are unable to make the effort to follow the difficult path. As a result misfortune and disaster come upon them. The true gentleman makes great exertions to keep himself on the difficult path, and is unable to run away [from the trouble this involves] and take up the easy option.⁴⁴³ As a result good fortune and felicities flow to him. Hence we know⁴⁴⁴ that "misfortune and good fortune have no particular gate by which they must enter. Each man calls in the one or the other for himself."⁴⁴⁵ If you wish to show regret for wrongs you have committed in the past, simply be careful about faults you may commit in the future.

Select the wise kings to serve as your teachers: do not take me as the "mirror of the past" for your own conduct.⁴⁴⁶ If you choose the best as your models,⁴⁴⁷ you will still only succeed in becoming [a ruler] of mid-

dling rank. If you take one of middling rank as your model, you will become an inferior [ruler].⁴⁴⁸ You should only imitate rulers of the very highest virtue.

Since I came to the throne⁴⁴⁹ I have implemented many policies. Rare and beautiful clothing and jewelery, brocades, and embroidery have constantly been before me:⁴⁵⁰ this shows that I have failed to curb my desires. Carved pillars and incised rafters, lofty terraces and deep pools – for each of these works I have conscripted labor. This means that I have not made my will frugal. Dogs, horses, falcons, and hawks – none was too distant for me to order them sent to me. This means that I have not followed moderation in my heart. I have repeatedly made imperial progresses, and thus demanded pressing toil from my people.⁴⁵¹ This shows that I have failed to humble myself. These things are my own deep offenses.⁴⁵² Do not take these actions as having been right, and later use them as a model for yourself.

Only in my aiding and nurturing the people have the benefits I have produced been many;⁴⁵³ and only in my pacifying and settling the whole world have my achievements been great.⁴⁵⁴ Because the benefits of my rule have been many, and the injuries I have caused few, the people have not been resentful.⁴⁵⁵ Because my achievements have been great and my faults trifling my virtue has still not been destroyed.⁴⁵⁶ But if you compare it with the records of perfection, there are many things of which I am ashamed; if you compare it with the Way of perfect goodness, regarding these matters I have feelings of mortification.⁴⁵⁷

Even more, you yourself have not yet the slightest positive achievement; you are only following on the foundation (laid by your grandfather and father) and inheriting their felicities. If you venerate the good so as to broaden your virtue, then your reign will be a great one, and you yourself

⁴⁴⁰ J reads 非知之難唯行不易; Y 惟行之不易. This saying comes from the *Book of Documents*, "Yüeh ming" 2; *Documents/Legge*, p. 238: "It is not the knowing that is difficult, but the doing."

⁴⁴¹ As Sakata, *Teihan*, pp. 238–39, points out, this whole quotation beginning 故人有言 ("the ancients had a saying") had been paraphrased by T'ai-tung's mentor Wei Cheng in a slightly different form: 非知之難行之難·非刑之難終之難 ("It is not knowing that is difficult, it is practising it. It is not practising it that is difficult, it is seeing it to a conclusion"), in an address to the emperor in 639. See *Chen-kuan cheng-yao* 10, p. 307. Though the first part of this saying clearly derives from *Book of Documents*, "Yüeh ming," the last phrase comes from elsewhere. Sakata takes it to reflect a passage in *Tso chuan*, Hsiang 31; *Tso/Legge*, p. 566b. The marquis of Wei was visiting Ch'u. Pei-kung Wen-tzu saw the great state kept by the visitor's chief minister and said to the marquis "The pomp of the chief minister is like that of the ruler: he must have his mind set on some other object. But, though he may obtain his desire, he will not hold it to the end. The *Ode* says, 'All have their beginning, But there are few that can secure the end.' The difficulty is indeed with the end 終之實難. The chief minister will not escape an [evil death]." The *Ode* referred to is no. 253: *Songs/Waley*, p. 242: "Heaven gives birth to the multitudes of the people / But its charge cannot be counted upon / To begin well is common / To end well is rare indeed." *Songs/Karlgren*, p. 214, renders the last two lines, "There is nobody who has not a beginning, but few can have a [normal] end." T'ai-tung would certainly have been familiar with this *Ode*, but I doubt whether he consciously refers to it here.

⁴⁴² J reads 小人皆俯從其易; Y omits 皆. ⁴⁴³ J reads 不能逸居其易; Y reads 不力居其易.

⁴⁴⁴ J reads 是知; Y reads 故知.

⁴⁴⁵ This quotation is from *Tso chuan*, Hsiang 23; *Tso/Legge*, p. 502). Interestingly, this anecdote is one concerning a disputed choice of an heir apparent.

⁴⁴⁶ J reads 當擇哲王以師與毋以吾為前鑒; Y reads 哲王為哲王 and omits 與.

⁴⁴⁷ J reads 夫取法于上; Y omits 于.

⁴⁴⁸ J reads 故其為下; Y reads 故為其下. ⁴⁴⁹ J reads 吾在立已來; Y reads 已來.

⁴⁵⁰ J reads 不施于前, giving the translation, "were not laid out before me", which does not fit the context. Lo Chen-yü in his collation note suggests that it should read, as in Y, 不絕于前 "have been before me uninterruptedly."

⁴⁵¹ J reads 以亟入勞; Y reads 以亟勞人.

⁴⁵² J reads 斯數事者吾之深過也; Y reads 斯事者之深過也.

⁴⁵³ J reads 其益多矣; Y omits 矣. ⁴⁵⁴ J reads 其功大矣; Y omits 矣.

⁴⁵⁵ J reads 民不為怨; Y reads 人不怨. ⁴⁵⁶ J reads 德未之虧; Y omits 之.

⁴⁵⁷ This refers to a passage in *Lun yü* 3/25: *Analepts/Legge*, p. 164; *Analepts/Waley*, p. 101: "The Master said of the Shao (the succession dance of Shun) that it was of perfect beauty and at the same time perfect goodness, but of the Wu (the succession dance of King Wu, founder of the Chou) that it embodied perfect beauty, but not perfect goodness." T'ai-tung uses these terms as

will enjoy peace.⁴⁵⁸ But if you give rein to your feelings so as to indulge in wrong-doing,⁴⁵⁹ then your reign will end in collapse and you yourself will perish.⁴⁶⁰

Moreover, that success comes slowly whereas defeat can come rapidly is at the very foundation of the state.⁴⁶¹ That loss is easy, and gain difficult, is part of the position of Son of Heaven.⁴⁶² How can you not regret this! How can you not take great care!

SUMMARY REMARKS

This then is the ideal pattern for an emperor that T'ai-tsung bequeathed to his son and heir. Of course, as a late-twentieth-century reader I would much have preferred him to have written something specifically deriving from and referring to his own experiences; to his relations with other men and with his difficult family, with his administration and with the world beyond the borders of his empire, to the actual specific circumstances of his life and times. As it is, the personal element is confined to the very formal preface, which explains how he had come to the throne. We see this element also in his repeated reminders that he had been a commander of men on the battlefield before he was out of his teens, and in the references to his rich experience of practical affairs and knowledge of everyday life before coming to power. Beyond that there are the terse but sweeping admissions in the postface of the inadequacies of his stewardship of the dynastic throne, and of his personal failure to live up to the ideals he has laid out for his son and successors.

But he was writing a guide for conduct relating to current ideas about rulership and political authority, not the sort of reflection on events and his own role in them that we expect today from the memoirs of every retired prime minister or president. Even had he done so, knowing what we do about his delicate regard for his own reputation with posterity, and the vigorous attempts he made to suppress facts and to influence the court diarists and historians who were compiling the record of his reign, such a memoir would probably only have raised a cloud of additional doubts. We have plenty of material elsewhere to make our own historical judgements on his actions.

What he presents to the future Kao-tsung is a pattern of the true priorities

descriptions of the perfect government of antiquity by whose standards he has fallen short.

⁴⁵⁸ 則業泰而身安; Yomits 而.

⁴⁵⁹ 以縱非; Yomits 以從非, giving, "so as to follow wrong courses."

⁴⁶⁰ 則業傾而身喪; Yomits 而.

⁴⁶¹ 國之基也; Yomits 之.

⁴⁶² 天之位也; Yomits 之.

for an enlightened ruler (*ming chün* 明君). These are presented in abstract timeless terms, expressing ideas and attitudes that had been developed over more than a millenium before him. Much of what he writes could easily have been written by a Han-period author. The historical episodes cited as examples are for the most part taken from the three dynasties of high antiquity, from the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods, and from Ch'in and Han. The latest specific reference is to the Three Kingdoms period in the third century AD. The preponderance of the historical examples are taken from the *Book of Documents*, *Tso chuan*, *Shih chi* and *Han shu*.

T'ai-tsung was a skilled and sometimes powerful writer, whose poetry has received favorable attention in recent times. The question will always remain, as with other emperors, how much of his writing was his own, and how much it owed to his literary associates. Often we are given the impression, for example, that the influence of the elderly Wei Cheng overshadowed his thought and his writing. Perhaps that perception is exaggerated by the accounts given in the *Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, which represents the court with Wei in the role of senior sage-counsellor and T'ai-tsung as the model Confucian emperor, open and receptive to moral suasion. In the *Chin ching* he propounds the ancient idea that a true king should be willing to treat any man, however humble, as a teacher, and more specifically points out that even Confucius and King Wen of the Chou had their mentors. But T'ai-tsung was a man of imperious will and powerful individuality, however much he may have heeded the advice of his mentors and court scholars.

T'ai-tsung was certainly a well-read man with a broad knowledge of history, and a powerful sense of the importance of the past and of its abiding significance. He presided over a court one of whose major priorities had been the rewriting of the history of the centuries of division following the fall of the Later Han. In this enterprise, which had entailed the setting up of a new Historiographical Office, he had not been simply a spectator and royal patron. He had himself contributed judgemental essays on various figures in the history of the Chin period, in the years immediately before he undertook the writing of the *Ti-fan*. Yet there is barely a mention in either the *Chin-ching* or *Ti-fan* of the events of these turbulent centuries, after the end of the Three Kingdom, nor is there any mention of specific events under the Sui, the preceding dynasty that he and his father had served, which had begun so well, yet ended in disastrous collapse. There were, surely, any number of practical lessons to be learned from these periods, examples of conduct that might have been adduced. Every grown man among T'ai-tsung's contemporaries had lived under the Sui, and had experienced the decade of disorder that accompanied its downfall,

so that such examples would have had a powerful and immediate rhetorical impact. Why did T'ai-tsung pass them over in silence, and give preference to episodes from the distant past?

T'ai-tsung was producing an ideal model of rulership. He was doing so at a time when the prime need for his dynasty was continuity and permanence. Nobody living in his lifetime had experienced life under a dynasty that had lasted as long as forty years. His father and he himself had reestablished dynastic control and restored stable institutions, defeated the most powerful external enemies, the T'u-chüeh, and secured the allegiance of many of the border peoples, but the future of the state still remained uncertain. Political instability was deeply entrenched among the ruling elite, and for a dynasty to establish itself on a permanent basis required fundamental attention to the basic principles of governance.

What T'ai-tsung felt was needed was a certainty of direction, of self-disciplined behavior on the part of the ruler, that would ensure this continuity. As he says at the very beginning of the *Chin-ching*:

Every ruler of men who has occupied the throne has desired to enjoy esteem as the ruler of a state of ten thousand chariots forever, and to bequeath it to a posterity of a hundred successive rulers.

He had thus clearly been thinking about these problems ever since his seizure of the throne. The *Chin-ching* already explores one of the major themes that is further developed in the *Ti-fan*, the absolute dependence of an emperor on his advisers and ministers who would help him devise policy, and the officials staffing his bureaucracy who would be responsible for translating these policies into reality. The necessity of selecting those through whom he was to rule with the most scrupulous care, and of employing them in the positions appropriate to their individual talents, was fundamental to a strong government. T'ai-tsung's speeches and edicts over the next two decades, later collected by Wu Ching in his *Chen-kuan cheng-yao*, articulate many of the same ideas in the context of specific contemporary events, using almost identical language, and it is clear that these great issues remained a preoccupation for T'ai-tsung and for the members of his court alike. The very fact of his writing the *Ti-fan* to ensure that his successor would rule wisely according to principles he had found acceptable, was another evidence of his concern for the long term future.

His reign was not only a period of hectic activity in governing the country and consolidating his father's achievements in setting up and reforming institutions, but was also a time of remarkable intellectual endeavors, many of them state-sponsored. It had seen further work on the law code completed

under his father, the production of a great ritual code, and above all the huge ongoing enterprise of establishing definitive texts of and preparing sub-commentaries to the works in the classical Confucian canon. His advisors, and not only his *éminence grise* Wei Cheng, were involved in these enterprises. They were almost all learned men, steeped in a style of learning which made constant reference to ideals represented as having been realized in the distant past. All had a vivid sense of history. Particularly in his early years on the throne, T'ai-tsung had gone out of his way to act so as to identify himself with Han Kao-tsu (Liu Pang), the founder of the great Han dynasty, that had lasted more than four centuries, and which he hoped the T'ang would emulate. The preface to the *Ti-fan* makes this plain; the T'ang founding is obliquely described in terms of the portentous events that accompanied not only the accession of the great saint-rulers of mythological antiquity, but also those associated with the beginning of Han rule. T'ai-tsung certainly felt an affinity with the past that went beyond his reading.

His reading was wide. As can be seen from the annotation to the translations above, he was broadly acquainted with canonical literature. In particular he cites widely from the *Book of Documents*, including a large number of documents justifying the transmission of power through abdication (thus justifying the circumstance of his own succession) and by inheritance. Many of the historical incidents he uses to illustrate his points come from the *Tso chuan*. He had the *Book of Odes* at his fingertips, as we can also see from his poetry, and the *Analects of Confucius* and the *Tao te ching*. He cites from various sections of *Li chi* and the *Book of Changes*. All these canonical books were part of any well-educated man's boyhood curriculum, but T'ai-tsung not only cites from them directly, he employs language and vocabulary items taken from them in a way that shows he had thoroughly internalized them as part of his individual written style.

This basic common reading of canonical texts was supplemented from other sources. He cites many episodes from the standard histories, *Shih chi*, *Han shu*, and *Hou Han shu*, and also from lesser historical works such as *Kuo yü* and *Wu-Yüeh Ch'un-ch'iu*. Like many of his contemporaries he shows an easy familiarity with the statecraft writings of the "Legalist" and what we nowadays consider as the "Huang-Lao" schools. He knew *Shang-chün shu*, *Kuan tzu*, *Han Fei tzu*, *Hsün tzu*, the "political" sections of the *Tao-te ching* and *Wen tzu* together with minor authors such as *Yü tzu*, and *Yin wen tzu*. He cites from the Han collections of anecdotes *Shuo yüan* and *Hsin-hsü* and the fifth-century syncretist *Liu tzu hsin-yü*. One would expect one of the great commanders in Chinese military history to have been familiar with the military writers. He cites from

Wu tzu, *Liu t'ao*, *Ssu-ma Fa*, and uses vocabulary from *Sun-tzu*. These are all sources to which references are clearly made on the assumption that his readers would automatically recognize and respond to them.

There are two works that provide T'ai-tsung with more than a casual repertory of sources to which he can allude. The first of these is the *Huai nan tzu* and in particular the section entitled "*Chu shu hsün*" (translated by Roger Ames as the "Art of Rulership"). T'ai-tsung had probably reread this recently when he wrote the *Ti-fan*. Quotations or adaptations from it figure in four of the twelve sections of the *Ti-fan* (numbers 4, 5, 7, and 8), and scattered items of common vocabulary from *Huai-nan tzu* appear throughout.

A second work from which he took extensive passages, is a later and more unusual source. This is an essay included in the *Wen hsüan*, entitled "Liu tai lun 六代論" by Ts'ao Chiung 曹罔. Ts'ao Chiung was a great-uncle of the child-emperor of the Wei, Shao-ti 少帝 (r. 239-254), and his essay, like *Ti-fan*, was written for that young ruler's guidance, the author having hoped to persuade Ts'ao Shuang 曹爽 to present it to the emperor. T'ai-tsung makes close use of this essay especially in his discussion (in section 2) of the desirability of setting up royal princes in territorial fiefs to produce a modified "feudal" system that would give the dynasty a broad power base in the provinces, for which he was an enthusiast. T'ai-tsung also gives evidence of having read some other essays in the same and neighboring chapters of *Wen hsüan*, such as Lu Chi's 陸機 "Wu teng lun 五等論."

Li Nai, the author of the very extensive commentary on the *Ti-fan* compiled in the early-fourteenth century under the Yüan, was at great pains to find the *locus classicus* for almost every item of vocabulary in the *Ti-fan*, and I am much indebted to his unrelenting labors, although sometimes his commentary seems almost obsessive in its erudition. But there is a fundamental problem with this sort of commentary, a problem which will doubtless be intensified as more and more major sources become available on CD Rom, providing a quick and reliable mechanical substitute for the lifetime's reading experience that enabled Li Nai and scholars of his kind to produce this sort of work. The fact that a commonplace phrase in a given text can be identified in an earlier work does not necessarily mean that the author either deliberately or consciously cited the earlier text. The phrase might well have become part of the current language of discourse on the subject in question with a life of its own, independent of its original context, or a literary cliché the provenance of which was half forgotten, filed away subconsciously in their memories by author and reader alike. In many cases in the *Ti-fan* this was clearly the case, and phrases used by T'ai-tsung may be found not only in a single earlier source but in a

whole family of related texts. T'ai-tsung was not writing a Ph.D. dissertation to demonstrate the breadth of his reading to posterity. He was using this allusive language because of its widely acceptable reference to a body of literature familiar to all educated men, and because this was the appropriate form of expression for such political discourse.

As a case in point, Li Nai points out the origins of some terminology, including the title itself of the *Chin ching* in the apocryphal literature of Han times. Did ordinary well-educated men of T'ai-tsung's generation still read these apocrypha in their original form? I very much doubt it, but they were available and are widely quoted in the encyclopedias and commentaries on the canonical books that were being compiled under T'ai-tsung's orders at the capital during his reign, and he may well have taken them from these secondary sources.

T'ai-tsung does not emerge from the *Chin-ching* or from the *Ti-fan* as an innovative thinker on imperial authority or on politics. That was not what he was trying to achieve. He was suggesting to his successor some well-tryed general principles that a ruler would be well advised to adopt. They are mostly very sensible, practical principles many of them applicable to any ruler or commander of men. Philosophers, statesmen, and former emperors had been thinking about these things for a millenium and more, and there was a general consensus about them from which it would have been very difficult to depart, without a wholesale recasting of the structure of government and authority. It was not simply a matter of T'ai-tsung's being fundamentally conservative in his thinking. Having to rule through the established structures and customary forms and procedures of government strictly limited his practical options. And to change the overall structure of government I am sure never crossed his mind, and would have been impossible to achieve. It would certainly not have been appropriate to suggest any such thing to a young successor in whom he seems to have had less than perfect confidence.

Whole sections of the *Ti-fan* might almost have been written in the Han period. And this underlines a major aspect of his conservative thinking. For T'ai-tsung and for many T'ang writers intent on erecting and preserving a great unified empire and a stable dynasty, the only practical and successful model they had for such a great imperial edifice was the Han. To men of T'ai-tsung's time it represented the peak of success, and it remained a benchmark, a point of reference for historical comparisons, until the dynasty's end. The Han had lasted for more than four centuries, had had its ups and downs, but it had been an unquestionably glorious era, and the dynasty had endured. T'ai-tsung gave the fundamentalist reformer Wang Mang short shrift. In the *Chin-ching* he is

dismissed with,

Wang Mang feigned to practise the way of humanity and righteousness:
His regime had a beginning but came to nothing.

His successor Kuang Wu ti, who restored the Han fortunes and re-founded the Later Han, was, on the contrary an object of admiration for T'ai-tsung.

For an emperor in the seventh century looking for historical models there was no alternative to the massive achievements of Han. By this standard the petty dynasties of the Period of Division were an irrelevance – they were all models of failure. The Sui, who had achieved unification so briefly, had ended in a collapse of order and a decade of bloody warfare out of which the T'ang had emerged. T'ai-tsung and his court had all themselves experienced these events. Many of his courtiers, like T'ai-tsung and his father, had served under the Sui. The T'ang and Sui royal families were from a common aristocratic background, and were historically linked together both by events but also by intricate marriage relationships formed in the mid-sixth century. One of T'ai-tsung's consorts was a daughter of Sui Yang-ti. Much of the enduring institutional structure of the early T'ang was based on the administrative reforms accomplished under the Sui.

Yet the stigma of dramatic failure, coupled with the need to legitimize the new dynasty by demonstrating how Yang-ti had lost Heaven's Mandate, made it impossible to acknowledge publicly the many ways in which the early T'ang were indebted to their immediate predecessors, and certainly ruled out the Sui as a source for positive models of government.

Similarly T'ai-tsung was not ignorant about the period following the fall of Han. He had taken great pains to ensure that his newly founded Historiographical Office produced standard histories for these dynasties, and when, only two years before he wrote the *Ti-fan*, he ordered the compilation of the history of the Chin, he had personally written some judgemental sections that we can still identify. But these periods were again not where he sought historical examples of ideal rulership for his heir, not even pejorative negative examples. He preferred to have his successor go back and contemplate the great regimes of the past, the three dynasties of high antiquity – Hsia, Shang and Chou – and the Han where the issues at stake had been on a grander scale, and the participants, good and bad alike of more heroic stature. As he says to his heir in the Postface of the *Ti-fan*:

Select the wise kings to serve as your teachers: do not take me as the "mirror of the past" for your own conduct. If you choose the best as your

models, you will still only succeed in becoming [a ruler] of middling rank. If you take one of middling rank as your model, you will become an inferior [ruler]. You should only imitate rulers of the very highest virtue.

APPENDIX: The Writing System of the Nan-chao Pai and Their Text of *Ti-fan*

In his description of the recovery of the full text of the *Ti-fan* in Yunnan, Tu Mu's text reads "The characters were different from those used by the Han Chinese, and thus it had to be translated (or transliterated) before it could be presented [to the court]" 字與漢異，乃譯而進之. It is not clear precisely what 譯 means here. Under the Nan-chao kingdom the state had adopted many T'ang government institutions, and the ruling class were certainly proficient in Chinese, so that it is unsurprising that the *Ti-fan* would have been taken there. When the king of the Ta-ch'ang-ho state 大長和國, which had succeeded Nan-chao in 902, made overtures to the southern Chinese state of Nan-Han requesting a marriage alliance in 925, the correct language and style of their official correspondence provoked special comment (see *TCTC* 274, p. 8950). The Yüan scholar Li Ching's 李京 *Yün-nan chih-lüeh* 雲南志略, a resume of which is preserved in *Shuo-fu* 36 (see the Shanghai Shang-wu yin-shu kuan edn.; rpt. Taipei, 1963, p. 24b), records a story that attests to the interest of some Nan-chao (Pai) scholars not only in Chinese composition but also in Chinese calligraphy. This relates how a Nan-chao scholar called Chang Chih-ch'eng had been sent to study in T'ang China and returned with immense respect for the calligrapher Wang Hsi-chih, but with none whatever for Confucius or Mencius.

All the preserved stone inscriptions surviving from Nan-chao and its successor kingdoms use the standard Chinese script and standard Chinese language. There is, as far as I am aware, no conclusive evidence that the Pai people who inhabited the Ta-li plain have ever had their own script system to write their language, unlike the neighboring Yi (Lolo) people. (On the Pai language, see S. Robert Ramsey, *The Languages of China* [Princeton: Princeton U.P., 1987], pp. 288–91; on the Yi writing system, esp. 258–61.)

However, since the 1920s tiles dating from the Ta-li kingdom and bearing inscriptions have been found at many sites in the Ta-li and Erh-hai district. Some scholars have claimed these to be written in a Pai script. Others however disagree. The inscriptions, some inscribed in the clay and other impressed with wooden stamps, are mostly makers' marks and dates – one at least from 738, before the unification of Nan-chao, others as late as 1155. The characters are often very crude and much abbreviated but most can be read and understood as Chinese without difficulty. However, there are a few Buddhist inscriptions and early manuscripts, ranging in date from the late-twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, which have standard Chinese texts accompanied by unintelligible commentary using Chinese characters apparently to transcribe the Pai language, rather in the manner of Manyōgana.

In the sixteenth century, the Szechwanese scholar Yang Shen 楊慎 (1488–1559; c.5.1511), a somewhat younger contemporary of Tu Mu, claimed to have transcribed (*kai-hsieh* 改寫) book-length sources originally in the Po (i.e., Pai) script with no great

difficulty when compiling his own writings on Yunnanese history.⁴⁶³ There is thus clear evidence for the existence of such a variant script system used for writing Chinese texts in Yunnan.⁴⁶⁴

Similar problems surround inscriptions deriving from the northeastern state of Parhae (Po-hai), where there was also a high level of knowledge of formal Chinese, but where aberrant forms of some characters occur.⁴⁶⁵

The section of *Yün-nan chih-lüeh* on the customs of the various tribal peoples has interesting remarks on the language of the Pai, but these are confined to vocabulary items and make no mention of their having an individual script (see *Shuo-fu* 36, p. 24a).

It is in any case quite unbelievable that a text as long and complex as the *Ti-fan* could possibly have been translated into another language and then back into Chinese and still emerged as accurately as it has done. What Tu Mu almost certainly meant was that in making their copy of the *Ti-fan* the Pai had used irregular forms of some Chinese characters, which had to be replaced by the standard orthography.

Abe Ryūichi takes it that the "translation" here refers to the text's subsequent translation into Mongolian.⁴⁶⁶ But this cannot be the case, since the preceding sentence says that "it was written in characters different from Chinese, and had to be translated before it was presented to the court."

⁴⁶³ See Yang, *Tien chi* 滇記 (Hsüeh-hai lei-pien edn.), p. 19b. He says that in researching the origins of the Meng and Tuan, having found nothing in local gazetteers he had consulted old scholars about sources. He used historical records from Yunnan, such as the *Pai-ku-t'ung* 白古通 and *Yün-feng nien-yün chih* 元峰年運志, which were written using Po characters 梵文. These, however, could be read after slight revision and correction *shao shan cheng ling ch'i k'o tu* 稍刪正令其可讀. Here again it seems to be a question of texts written in Chinese but in a slightly variant script.

⁴⁶⁴ On this complex problem see Chang Tseng-ch'i 張增祺, "Nan-chao Ta-li-kuo shih-chi di yu-tzu wa lun Pai-tsu yu wu Pai-wen de wen-ti" 南詔大理國的時期的有字瓦兼談白族歷史上有無白文的問題, *WW* 1986.7, pp. 39-46.

⁴⁶⁵ See Li Ch'iang 李強, "Lun Po-hai wen-tzu" 論渤海文字, *Hsüeh-hsi yü t'an-suo* 1982. 5, pp. 98-100, and "Po-hai wen-tzu wa mo wu ting-cheng" 渤海文字瓦摩誤訂正, *Hei-lung-chiang wen-wu ts'ung-k'an* (1984.3), pp. 26-30. These are tabulated in Johannes Recke, *Bohai: Geschichte und kultur eines mandshurisch-koreanischen Königreiches der Tang-Zeit dargestellt nach den Schriftzeugnissen und dem archäologischen Fundmaterial* (dissertation, Göttingen, 199) 3, pp. 555-63.

⁴⁶⁶ Abe, "Teihan, Shinki," pp. 179-80.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Analects/Legge</i>	James Legge, trans., <i>Confucian Analects</i> , vol. 1 of <i>The Chinese Classics</i>
<i>Analects/Waley</i>	Arthur Waley, trans., <i>The Analects of Confucius</i>
<i>Changes/Legge</i>	James Legge, trans., <i>The Yi King</i> , vol. 16 of <i>The Sacred Books of the East</i>
<i>Changes/Lynn</i>	Richard John Lynn, trans., <i>The Classic of Changes</i>
<i>Changes/Wilhelm</i>	Richard Wilhelm [Cary F. Baynes], trans., <i>The I Ching or Book of Changes</i>
<i>CTS</i>	Liu Hsü et al., <i>Chiu Tang shu</i> 舊唐書
<i>CTW</i>	Tung Kao et al., <i>Ch'üan Tang wen</i> 全唐文
<i>Documents/Karlgren</i>	Bernhard Karlgren, trans., <i>The Book of Documents</i>
<i>Documents/Legge</i>	James Legge, trans., <i>The Shoo King, or Book of Historical Documents</i> , vol. 3 of <i>The Chinese Classics</i>
<i>HS/Dubs</i>	Homer H. Dubs, trans., <i>The History of the Former Han Dynasty by Pan Ku</i>
<i>HTS</i>	Ou-yang Hsiu, Sung Ch'i et al., <i>Hsin Tang shu</i> 新唐書
<i>J</i>	<i>Ti-fan</i> ; Japanese text tradition, as printed in Lo Chen-yü, annot., <i>Ti-fan chiao-chi</i>
<i>Lao-tzu/Lau</i>	D. C. Lau, trans., <i>Lao tzu, Tao Te Ching</i>
<i>Rites/Legge</i>	James Legge, trans., <i>The Li Ki</i> , vols. 27-28 of <i>The Sacred Books of the East</i>
<i>SC/Chavannes</i>	Édouard Chavannes, trans., <i>Les Mémoires historiques de Se-ma Tsien</i>
<i>SC/Nienh.</i>	Wm. H. Nienhauser et al., trans., <i>The Grand Scribe's Records</i>
<i>SC/Watson</i>	Burton Watson, trans., <i>Records of the Grand Historian of China</i>
<i>Songs/Karlgren</i>	Bernhard Karlgren, trans., <i>The Book of Odes</i>
<i>Songs/Legge</i>	James Legge, trans., <i>The She King, or The Book of Poetry</i> , vol. 2 of <i>The Chinese Classics</i>
<i>Songs/Waley</i>	Arthur Waley, trans., <i>The Book of Songs</i>
<i>TCTC</i>	Ssu-ma Kuang, <i>Tzu-chih t'ung-chien</i> 資治通鑑
<i>TFYK</i>	Wang Ch'in-jo et al., <i>Ts'e-fu yüan-kuei</i> 冊府元龜
<i>THY</i>	Wang P'u, <i>Tang hui-yao</i> 唐會要
<i>Tso/Legge</i>	James Legge, trans., <i>The Ch'un Ts'ew with the Tso Chuen</i> , vol. 5 of <i>The Chinese Classics</i>

<i>Iso/Couv.</i>	Séraphim Couvreur, trans., <i>Tch'ouen-ts'iou et Tso tchouan</i>
<i>TTCLC</i>	Sung Min-ch'iu, <i>T'ang ta chao ling chi</i> 唐大詔令集
<i>W</i>	<i>Ti-fan</i> ; as printed in vol. 735 of <i>WYH</i>
<i>WYH</i>	Li Fang et al., <i>Wen-yüan ying-hua</i> 文苑英華
<i>Y</i>	<i>Ti-fan</i> ; as printed in vol. 696 of <i>Wen-yüan-ko</i> photrpt. of SKCS, and derived from <i>T'ung-lo ta-tien</i>
<i>YH</i>	Wang Ying-lin, <i>Yü hai</i> 玉海